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The Book of American Indians

John Dunn Hunter

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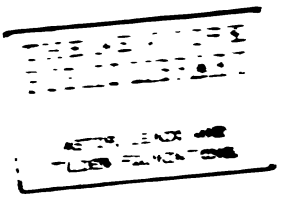
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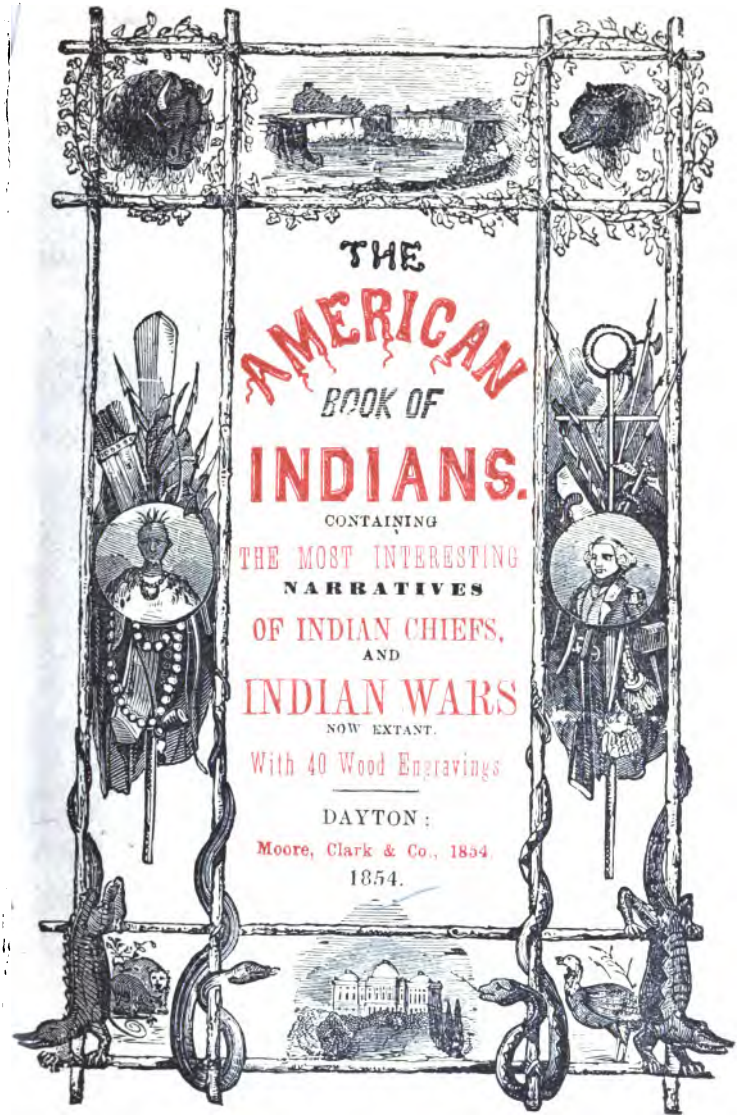
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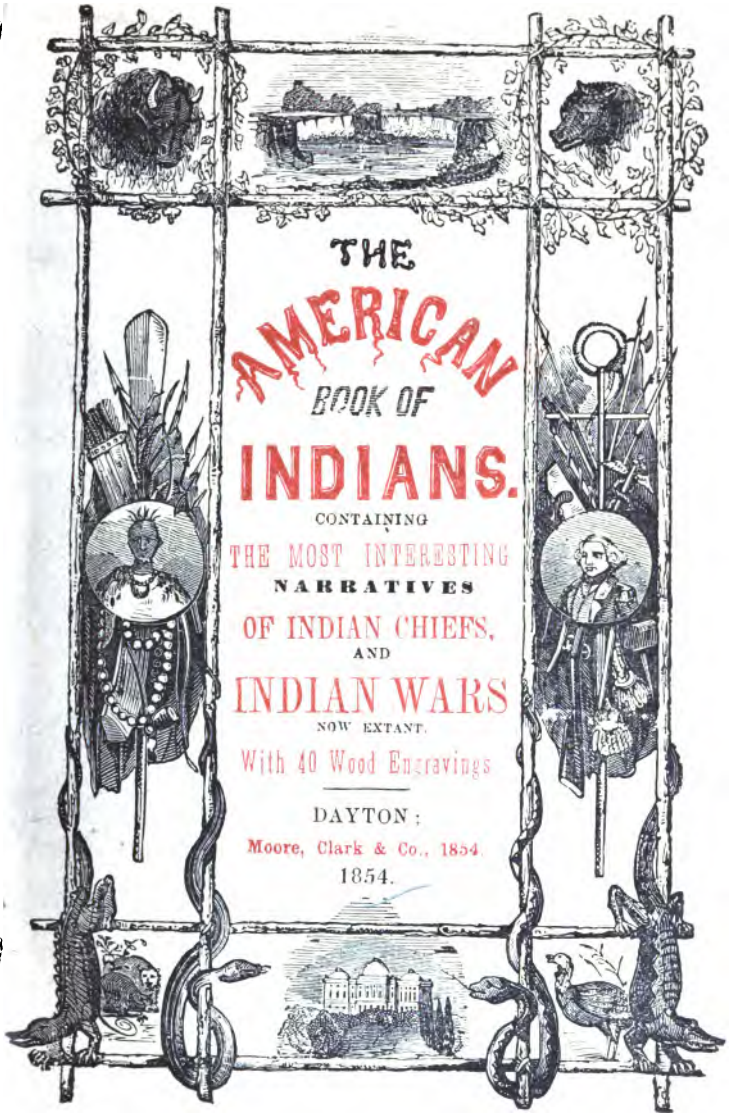
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THE BOOK OF

AMERICAN INDIANS,

CONTAINING

COMPREHENSIVE DETAILS OF INDIAN BATTLES, MASSACRES, BORDER WARFARE, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF DISTINGUISHED INDIANS, &C.

NEW EDITION.

DAYTON, O.:
PUBLISHED BY B. F. ELLS.
1854.

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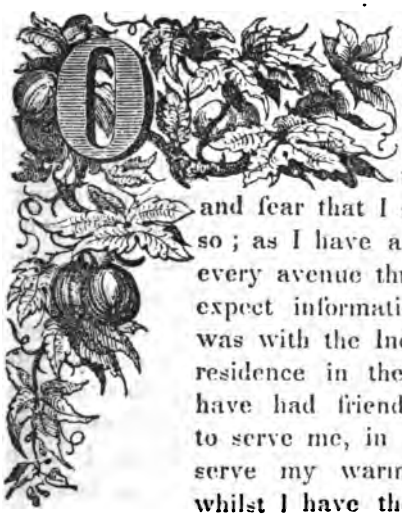
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HUNTER'S NARRATIVE.

By John Dunn Hunter.





OF the place of my nativity and the circumstances of my parentage, I am altogether ignorant, and fear that I shall forever remain so; as I have assiduously explored every avenue through which I could expect information; both while I was with the Indians, and since my residence in the United States. I have had friends, whose exertions to serve me, in this particular, deserve my warmest gratitude, and whilst I have the gloomy reflection of knowing that their efforts, as well as my own, have been unavailing, I will cherish these manifestations of their kindness toward me with the devotion of a heart that knows how to appreciate favors. This part of my history, together with most of the incidents of early life, which generally in

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works of this kind form an interesting portion, will, in all probability, forever remain unknown. Nevertheless, some features in this period were so strongly marked as to leave indelible impressions on my mind, while others not so strikingly characterized like the imperfect recollection of a dream, cross my memory, but fix on it no decided and satisfactory images.

I propose to treat on these, and the subsequent history of my life, before I enter into the details of the habits, morals, and polity of the Indians with whom I resided; because this arrangement will enable me to embody much matter in my narrative, which, if read, I am apprehensive, will prove tedious and uninteresting, and which thus disposed of, can be passed over at the option of the reader, for the subsequent and more interesting contents of the work, without interrupting the general connection. Besides, it will afford me the satisfaction of detaching myself, in a degree, from the view of the reader in the more important parts a circumstance, with which, in the capacity of an author, I may truly say I wished altogether to have complied, but which I could not consistently do against the opinions of many from whom I have received unequivocal tokens of friendship and regard, and whose advice I feel myself bound to respect.

I was taken prisoner at a very early period of my life by a party of Indians, who from the train of events that followed, belonged to, or were in alliance with the Kickapoo nation. At the same

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time, two other white children, a boy and a small girl, were also made prisoners.

I have a too imperfect recollection of the circumstances connected with this capture, to attempt any account of them, although I have reflected on the subject so often, and with so great interest and intensity, under the knowledge I have since acquired of the Indian modes of warfare, as nearly to establish at times a conviction in my mind of a perfect remembrance. In these deluded spells I see the Indians, hear their war whoops and terrific yells, and witness the massacre of my parents and connections, the pillage of their property, and the incendious destruction of their dwellings. But the first incident that made an actual and prominent impression on me, happened while the party were somewhere encamped, no doubt shortly after my capture; it was as follows: The little girl whom I before mentioned, beginning to cry, was immediately despatched with the blow of a tomahawk from one of the warriors: the circumstance terrified me very much, more particularly as it was followed with very menacing motions of the same instrument, directed to me, and then pointed to the slaughtered infant, by the same warrior, which I then interpreted to signify, that if I cried, he would serve me in the same manner. From this period till the apprehension of personal danger had subsided, I recollect many of the occurrences which took place.

Soon after the above transaction, we proceeded on our journey till a party separated from the main

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body, and took the boy before noticed with them, which was the last I saw or heard of him.

The Indians generally separate their white prisoners. The practice no doubt originated more with a view to hasten a reconciliation to their change, and nationalization of feelings, than with any intention of wanton cruelty.

The Indians who retained me continued their march, chiefly through woods, for several successive days; a circumstance well remembered by me, because the fear of being left behind called forth all my efforts to keep up with them, whenever from fatigue or any other cause they compelled me to walk, which was often the case.

After a long march and much fatigue, we reached their camps, which were situated on a considerable stream of water, but in what particular part or section of country, I am wholly unable to say. Just before our arrival, however, we were met by a great number of old men, women, and children, among whom was a white woman attired in the Indian Costume; she was the wife of a principal chief, was a great friend to the Indians, and joined with, and I believe surpassed the squaws in the extravagancy of her exultations and rejoicings on account of the safe return of the warriors with prisoners, scalps, and other trophies obtained from their vanquished foes.

I think it must have been in the fall when I was taken prisoner, because the forests, and indeed the whole atmosphere presented a smoky and peculiarly gloomy appearance, which most probably

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was owing to a custom which the Indians practice, of firing the leaves at this season of the year to facilitate the collection of nuts for their consumption during the approaching winter.

After our arrival at their camps, and I had become reconciled to my new mode of living and my adopted connections, nothing occurred for several years, to the best of my recollection, as worthy of notice, except our repeated removals, nor should I mention this, only, that it serves to account for the obscurity with which every thing connected with my early life is surrounded. I was adopted into the family of one of the principal warriors, named Fongoh, who claimed me as his property, from having taken me prisoner; his wife, a squaw of an intermediate stature, and dark complexion, proved to me a kind and affectionate mother.

It may appear somewhat extraordinary that I should recollect the above incidents so circumstantially, while others scarcely separated from them as to time, should have nearly, or quite escaped my memory; but such is the fact, though I am persuaded from the faint traces still remaining on my mind, could either my parents or the location of my childhood be presented to me at this time, in the same state or condition that they were in previous to my being taken by the Indians, that I should recognize them individually. But the probable massacre of the former, and the changes in respect to the latter, which have rapidly succeeded each other in the country where, most likely my being first dawned, forbid the hope of ever realiz-

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ing these, to me, desirable and important events.

But nothwithstanding this apparent incongruity in respect to memory, when the careless and playful manner in which children pass their time is taken into consideration, together with the violent changes that interrupted my youthful sports, the cause of surprise will, I am persuaded, cease to exist.

With respect to my parents, it is highly probable, as I before observed, that they perished at the commencement of my captivity, This I infer from the circumstances which generally precede, attend, and follow the destructuction of some families who adventure to the Western frontiers for a settlement, among which, from the manner of my capture, I suppose mine to have been; and as some of my readers may not be acquainted with them, a few remarks here on these subjects may prove interesting, and will not, I am persuaded, be deemed irrelevant to the plan I have proposed to follow.

Inheriting certain districts of the country from their ancestors, the limits to which are prescribed either by treaties with the several tribes, or are traditionary and mutually respected; the Indians are accustomed to roam with unrestrained freedom through their forests in search of game, or to cultivate so much of the soil as they may deem necessary to supply their wants and comforts. Every encroachment made upon their territory, whether with or without their consent, is, sooner or later, regarded as an infringement of their natural rights,

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and has frequently given rise to long, cruel, and exterminating wars, not only between different tribes, but between the Indians and the whites. They regard the latter with much the most scrupulous jealousy, because experience has taught them that every settlement on their part within their boundaries, is a precursor to their farther access, which, they most sensibly feel, will only terminate with their final expulsion, extermination, or incorporation with those they esteem their natural and most bitter enemies. With such feelings and views in regard to their neighbors, and their highest ambition being to excel in war, to improve themselves in which, no opportunity is suffered to escape, however abhorrent their mode of conducting it

The outsettlers are generally men of indolent, and frequently dissolute habits; they, for the most part, hunt and fish to procure a livelihood, and this wandering mode of life makes them acquainted with the neighboring Indians, their manners, and languages, and finally, with the situations most propitious for their pursuits. Under such circumstances, perhaps with consent, though this courtesy is but little regarded; lured by the present prospects, and regardless of future dangers, first, one or two, and afterwards more families venture into the territories of the Indians, till in fact the jealousy of the latter becomes exited, when, if possible, they scheme and execute their destruction. The Indians are also often provoked by other causes: such, for instance, as frauds and thefts prac-

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Indians selling Game to the Whites.

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ticed upon them, which provoke to retaliation and aggression ; consequently, the innocent and guilty, indiscriminately suffer. Such conduct, mutually practiced by them and the whites, along the whole extent of the conceived, though arbitrary boundary, is the cause of the inveterate hostility that exists between them, and leads to all the scenes of Indian cruelty that are practiced on the frontier settlers. The settlers are aware of the dengers to which they are exposed, and generally associate for their mutual defence ; when sufficiently numerous they erect block-houses and pickets, to which



Erecting a Block House.

all retreat on particular signals being given. In cases of emergency, where their number is not sufficiently great to encourage the hope of a successful resistance, should they apprehend an attack, they retreat to places of greater security, and wait

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till the angry passions of their neighbors have subsided, or become appeased. This, however, does not often happen, because the Indians take their measures so secretly, and execute them with such expedition, as to cut them off before any definite suspicion of danger has been entertained. From the first, these encroachments are viewed with a suspicious eye by the Indians, and should any ill success subsequently attend their pursuits after game, the cause is at once ascribed to the white settlers. These complaints are for a while individual and feeble; but multiplying and becoming clamorous, a council is convened, the subject debated, the measure of redress fixed upon, and instantly carried into execution. Sometimes, however, secret combinations of the young warriors, with a view to acquire celebrity and distinction, anticipate this form, and the first intelligence the chiefs have of their plan, is their return from an expedition with scalps, prisoners, &c. But by far the most frequent and summary way of chastising those intruders, is practiced by the hunting parties; who, while these hostile feelings exist, promiscuously destroy them, in whatever situation they may be found. For this conduct, the warriors generally receive the approbation and plaudits of the chiefs. When neither of the above modes amount to a radical cure of the evil, other measures having been determined on, and the arrangements made, necessary to carry them into execution, the war-party starts for the settlement, on the destruction of which it is bent. On arriving in the neighbor-

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hood, should the settlements be strong, and capable of making much resistance, the Indians separate, and secrete themselves till a favorable opportunity presents for an attack; such, for instance, as the absence of the men; when upon a signal being given, they rush simultaneously upon, and force an entrance into their dwellings, block-houses, or pickets. Their conduct is then governed by the danger they have to apprehend from the sudden return, or number of their enemies; should this be great, and the prospect of cutting them off by ambuscade appear doubtful, an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, and destruction of property follow. But if the danger be less, they kill most of the men, reserving only such as would be likely to associate with them, or those against whom they entertain a pointed enmity for injuries received, which they intend to revenge before their assembled tribe, in the most exemplary manner. Should the settlement, however, be weak, the Indians commence the attack on their arrival, and if they prove successful, the men generally are treated as above, the women and children carried off prisoners, and the houses pillaged, and then fired, with their remaining contents. This is a brief outline of their mode of warfare with the whites, and is perhaps all that requires to be said on the subject.

As I grew larger so as to recollect the more recent incidents of my life, the Indian boys were accustomed tauntingly to upbraid me with being white, and with the whites all being Squaws; a reproachful term used generally among the Indians,

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in contradistinction to that of Warrior. This often involved me in boyish conflicts, from which I sometimes came off victorious. These contests were always conducted fairly, and the victor uniformly received the praises and encouragements of the men; while the vanquished, if he had conducted himself bravely, was no less an object of their notice; if otherwise, he was neglected, and much pains were taken to shame and mortify him; nor would this conduct be relaxed in the slightest degree, till he had retrieved his character. The Indians are not only spectators, but umpires in these contests; they discover great interest in them, and always adjudge with the strictest impartiality. By such means the courage and character of the young Indians are tested, and when deficient, the remedy is at once applied, and so effectually, that instances of cowardice are seldom discovered among them after they have arrived at the age of puberty. From the above practice, it should not be inferred that they encourage discord and quarrelling among themselves; the fact is otherwise; and in truth they experience much less than is met with in the lower orders of civilized life.

The white woman whom I noticed a little back, was no way remarkable for any attention to me, which at this period of my life I think somewhat extraordinary; but perhaps, like myself, she had been taken prisoner by the Indians while young, and her sympathies had become enlisted for, or identified with those of the tribe. She had two children, was tall, healthy, and good-looking, as I

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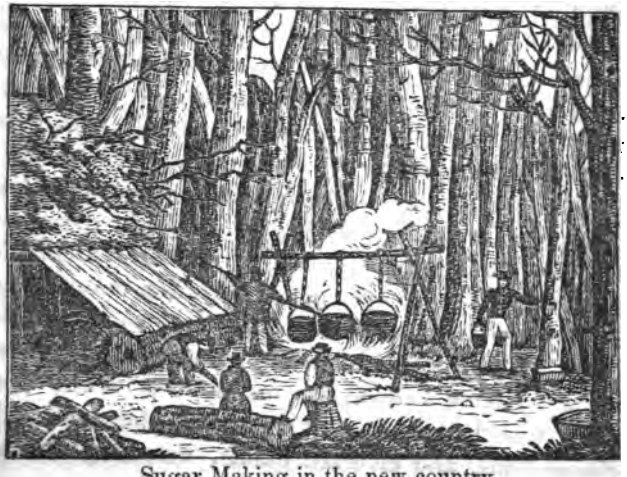
judge from the impressions made on my mind at that early period of my life. She separated from us in company with her husband and a considerable party of Indians, who had become disaffected, while on a hunting excursion on some of the branches of the Mississippi, during the last year, except one or two that I remained with this tribe; since which, I have heard nothing concerning her. She was much beloved by the Indians, was in the prime of life, and I have no doubt is now living with some of the Kickapoos on the Mississippi, or some of its tributary streams.

Digressing a little, I may here observe that I met three or four white children, apparently of my own age, while traveling among the different tribes. They appeared like myself to have been at first forced to assume the Indian character and habits; but time, and a conformity to custom had nationalized them, and they seemed as happy and contented as though they had descended directly from the Indians, and were in possession of their patrimony. I also met some, whose parents, either on the side of the father or mother, had been white: they sustained the character of brave warriors; but in general no cast, differing from that of the tribe, is held in repute or estimation. It is a remarkable fact, that white people generally when brought up among the Indians, become unalterably attached to their customs, and seldom afterwards abandon them. I have known two instances of white persons, who had arrived at manhood, leaving their connections, and civilized habits, assuming the In-

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dian, and fulfilling all his duties. These, however, happened among the Cherokees. Thus far I am an exception, and it is highly probable I shall ever remain such; though, I must confess, the struggle in my bosom was for a considerable time doubtful and even now my mind often reverts to the innocent scenes of my childhood, with a mixture of pleasurable and painful emotions, that is altogether indescribable. But my intercourse with refined society, acquaintance with books, and a glimpse at the wonderful structure into which the mind is capable of being moulded, have, I am convinced, unalterably attached me to a social intercourse with civilized man, composed as he is of crudites and contradictions.

While the Indians, with whom I lived, were engaged on the Kaskaskia river in making sugar, the



Sugar Making in the new country.

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season after they had separated from the white woman, as just noticed, a party of Pattawattomies split the sugar troughs, hacked, and very much injured the sugar trees, stole several horses, and committed other depredations on their property. The Kickapoos determined to make reprisals, and, accordingly, a party of their warriors pursued the aggressors down the river, put them to flight, and returned with most of their horses and some scalps, without having sustained any loss on their part. The Kickapoos, sensible that their hunting grounds were indifferently supplied with game, while those adjoining them in some directions were quite the reverse, were in consequence much addicted to roving. Parties of them had already settled to the west of the Missouri, and those who remained, usually extended their hunts along the great lakes, or the Mississippi, much to the annoyance of their neighbors, and the interruption of their own peaceful relations. By such conduct, and by divisions among themselves, they had become comparatively weak; and it was the wish of the most influential warriors of the tribe, to join their brethren beyond the Missouri; while those who had hunted to the north, and carried on a considerable trade at the post of Mackinaw, opposed the measure. The subject was debated a long time, with great warmth. and ended in a separation of the parties Those in favor of migration immediately commenced their march, taking me with them.

They were obliged to pass through the hunting ground of the Patawattomies, which occasioned

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much skirmishing with some hunting parties of that nation; but they finally succeeded in crossing the Mississippi, without sustaining much loss. Thence they proceeded up the Marameck river, to a village of the Shawanees, the same, I believe, that is now called Rogerstown. The Kickapoos were cordially received, and the pipe went round in confirmation of mutual friendship. After remaining for some time here, the party proceeded for several days up the Marameck, leaving my mother behind; but for what reason, I was never able to learn. The separation filled me with the most painful sensations; but I had then become so old as to appreciate the importance of sustaining my Indian character, and therefore scorned to complain. We finally encamped on the banks of this river, considerably above the Shawanee town, in a delightful country, which was abundantly supplied with game. The hunters made frequent excursions to explore the country and take buffalo; in one of which they were attacked, and very roughly handled by a hunting party of strange Indians, who, it was supposed, claimed the hunting grounds, and considered the Kickapoos as violators of their rights. This surprise and defeat, together with their own weakness, induced the Kickapoos to send runners to the Shawanees for assistance; but they returned without being able to procure any: which induced the party to ascend the river to a greater distance with a view to avoid their enemies. This step, however, proved highly detrimeutal to them for by this time the hostile Indians had appeared

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in more considerable numbers below, and, as reported by some spies who had been sent out to make observations, cut off a retreat. In this state of things, the party, to avoid a surprise, crossed the river, and pursued their journey with great industry, without any interruption till they unexpectedly arrived opposite to a settlement of Kickapoos, which had been effected some time previously, by a party that had preceded them.

This settlement, when first made, consisted of about ninety warriors; their number now was much reduced, and, reinforced by our party, did not much exceed the original number. They were considered as intruders by the neighboring Indians, who carried on a desultory warfare with them; which, if they had remained where they were, must finally have terminated in their total destruction. To return would be attended with great danger; they therefore concluded to advance further into the country, which they considered would be flying from it; besides, in the latter direction, game, the most important object next to their safety, was very abundant. The execution of this resolution was hastened by several skirmishes, which the Kickapoos had about this time. They accordingly crossed the river, and coursed up its banks till they blended with the ridges and hills. During the early part of the march, the hunters had some engagements with hostile wandering parties, which, though by no means decisive, operated in the aggregate, much against them. The march that followed was long, and over a broken country, which,

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to the best of my recollection, was not interrupted by any very large stream.

The Indians who now claimed me, had many small engagements, some of which, I believe, were with the Osages, as I heard that name frequently used. Some months must have transpired in this way, in which I do not remember to have suffered any thing remarkable; nor were my affections enlisted in favor of my new masters by any particular kindness or attention shown me. We had now come to the hunting grounds of the Kansas Indians, at least I learnt so from the incidents that followed, and also from the Kansas themselves The party I was with, as before observed, were wanderers; that is, having no fixed towns, and not scrupulous as to the infringement of the privileges of others. They pushed their hunting excursions into the neighborhood of the Kansas hunting parties, had frequent skirmishes with them, and lost or took several scalps, according to whichever party prevailed; but nothing decisive occurred, till the Kansas hunters received reinforcements from their villages on the Kansas river, when a bloody engagement ensued, which terminated in nearly an equal loss to both parties. Shortly after this, our party, while in their camps, were surprised by the Kansas, who had been reinforced and almost entirely cut off; a few warriors escaped, and the remainder, including myself, were taken prisoners. The Kansas took us after a long march to their towns, situated on the Kansas river, several hundred miles above its confluence with the Missouri,

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which is three hundred and fifty miles above the entrance of the latter river into the Mississippi.

Shortly after my arrival, I was adopted into the family of Kee-nees-tah by his squaw, who had lost a son in one of their recent engagements with the Pawnees. I was exceedingly fortunate from this election, and not only the chiefs and squaws, but the whole tribe treated me with regard and tenderness.

In the ensuing fall, the traders came among us, and here for the first time, to the best of my re-



collection, I saw a white man. My surprise, as may be naturally supposed, was great; but in a

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short time my curiosity became satiated, and their conduct, demeanor, and employment, regarded under the prejudices I had imbibed from the Indians, left no very favorable opinion of them on my mind. It was in the fall season when I arrived at the Kansas towns. Here, after I had become acquainted with their language, I was accustomed, in company with the Indian boys, to listen with indescribable satisfaction to the sage counsel, inspiring narratives, and contradictory tales of Tshat-chenau. This venerable worn-out warrior would often admonish us for our faults, and exhort us never to tell a lie. "Never steal, except it be from an enemy, whom it is just that we should injure in every possible way. When you become men, be brave and cunning in war, and defend your hunting grounds against all encroachments. Never suffer your squaws or little ones to want. Protect the squaws and strangers from insult. On no account betray your friend. Resent insults—revenge yourselves on your enemies. Drink not the poisonous strong-water of the white people; it is sent by the Bad Spirit to destroy the Indians. Fear not death; none but cowads fear to die. Obey and venerate the old people, particularly your parents. Fear and propitiate the Bad Spirit, that he may do you no harm; love and adore the Good Spirit, who made us all, who supplies our hunting grounds, and keeps us all alive."

He would then point to the scars that disfigured his body, and say, "often have I been engaged in deadly combat with the enemies of our nation, and

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almost as often come off victorious. I have made long walks over snow and ice, and through swamps and prairies, without food, in search of my country's foes: I have taken this and that prisoner, and the scalps of such and such warriors."

Now looking round on his auditors with an indescribable expression of feeling in his countenance, and pointing to the green fields of corn, and to the stores collected from the hunting grounds, he would continue, "For the peaceful enjoyment of all these, you are indebted to myself and to my brave warriors. But now they are all gone, and I only remain. Like a decayed prairie tree, I stand alone: the companions of my youth, the partakers of my sports, my toils, and my dangers, recline their heads on the bosom of our Mother. My sun is fast descending behind the western hills, and I feel that it will soon be night with me."

Finally, his heart overflowing with gratitude, with uplifted hands, and eyes directed heaven-wards, he would close the interesting scene, by thanking the great and good Spirit, for having been so long spared as an example to point out to the young men, the true path to glory and fame. I loved this old man, the Indians all loved him, and we always listened to his wise counsels, with the greatest satisfaction and delight. I am convinced that much of this venerable chief's character would have adorned the proudest age of civilized life. Surely it was a bright example in the western wilds of uneducated virtue and practical piety.

While with this nation, a party of hunters con-

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sisting of about thirty, which had ascended the Kansas river, and crossed over to some of the branches of the Arkansas, were routed with some loss by a party of wandering Pawnees. On their return, a council was convened, and the subject of migrating to new hunting grounds, connected with which, the recent excursion had been made, was solemnly debated. Tut-tes-se-gau, or the Rushing Wind, a brave and ambitious warrior, zealously supported the measure: he observed that, in the recent contest, he had lost a brother: that a removal would bring them into delightful hunting grounds, and place them in the immediate neighborhood of their natural enemies: that thus an opportunity of revenge would be offered, and new fields of glory be opened to exercise the courage and skill of the young warriors: while the chief Kis-ke-mas, or the Waving Grass, as zealously opposed it. In discussing the subject, he observed, that the hunting grounds they already possessed, were sufficiently extensive and well furnished with game to supply all their wants; they were theirs by inheritance, and they were able and willing to defend them: and that to restrain and keep in fear their neighboring enemies, presented sufficiently brilliant and more just objects for exercising the bravery and ambition of their warriors. "The hunting grounds we propose to acquire, belong to powerful nations. They will unite and defend them, as we would ours, to the last. Such a measure would lead to a perpetual and exterminating war. How many women and little children it would

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leave without hunters to provide food for them and warriors to defend them against their enemies! As for their bravery, none could doubt it; every stream that watered their vastly extensive country, could afford proof of it; and if this is not sufficient, the scars they all bore would incontrovertibly establish it, as long as the fire of life burned." I heard this subject discussed; much division of opinion existed; but the wise counsels and appropriate eloquence of Kis-ke-mas, prevailed. The Pawnees, Mahas, and some other nations were, to the best of my recollection, severally at war with each other about this time, and the two above mentioned, were also hostile to the Kansas, and made during the summer, several disconnected incursions upon their hunting grounds, killed several of their hunters, and stole many of their horses. The Kansas determining to put a stop to these encroachments, and to make reprisals, pursued one of these marauding parties, belonging to the Pawnees, up the Kansas river to the shoals below Neesh-ke-nah, or the Willow islands of the traders, where there is a safe ford, which is a thorough-fare for the Indians in their hunting and predatory excursions. The Pawnees, perceiving that they were pursued, and taking advantage of the very dry season and high winds that prevailed, set fire to the leaves and prairie grass, and made safe their retreat across the river. The Kansas were in consequence, compelled to abandon the pursuit, and escaped with great difficulty from the smoke and flames, which spread with the most astonishing rapidity. About

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KIS-KE-MAS—A KANSAS CHIEF.

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this time, the Mahas, who were, and for a long time had been at war with the Kansas, and also with the Ottowas, made peace with the latter, and uniting their forces determined to resist the ambitious views of the Kansas, as respected the farther extension of their hunting grounds.

After much skirmishing on both sides, in which no great advantage was gained, a decisive and bloody battle was fought, late in the fall, on the Gravelly Fork, a few miles above its confluence with the Kansas river, in which the Kansas came off victorious with the loss of the brave and gallant Kis-ke-mas, and fourteen or fifteen of his warriors. The loss on the other side was much more considerable; the Mahas and Ottowas having lost thirty-five killed, and twenty-five taken prisoners.

The return of the Kansas with their prisoners and scalps, was greeted by the squaws, as is usual on such occasions, by the most extravagant rejoicings; while every imaginable indignity was practiced on the prisoners. The rage of the relict of Kis-ke-mas knew no bounds: she, with the rest of the squaws, particularly those who had lost any connections, and the children, whipped the prisoners with green briars, and hazle switches, and threw firebrands, clubs, and stones at them as they ran between their ranks, to the painted post, which is a goal of safety for all who arrive at it, till their fate is finally determined in a general council of the victorious warriors. This council determined, to spare the lives of all the prisoners except two, who were chiefs, and had rendered

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INDIANS BURNING A PRISONER.

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themselves conspicuous objects for revenge, from instigating the confederate war. These two chiefs were Mahas; they were never heard to complain during the protracted and cruel tortures inflicted on them by the squaws: one of them, on the contrary, did all in his power to provoke his persecutors; observing to the wife of Kis-ke-mas, "I killed your husband, I took his scalp, I drank his blood, I owe my country nothing: I have fought many battles for her, killed many of her enemies, and leave behind me warriors enough to revenge my death, to defend their hunting grounds, squaws and little ones. I am a man: the fate of war is against me:—I die like a warrior."

Not long after this, I experienced a painful loss. The squaw who had adopted me among her children, and who had treated me with great tenderness and affection, was accidentally drowned in attempting to collect drift wood, during the prevalence of a flood. This circumstance was the cause of grief, apparently more poignant to be endured than is usually experienced in civilized life; because the customs of the Indians do not tolerate the same open expression of feelings, from the indulgence of which the acuteness of grief is relieved, and sooner subsides. The Indians regard tears or any expression of grief, as a mark of weakness in males, and unworthy of the character of the warrior. In obedience to this custom, I bore my affliction in silence. She was indeed a mother to me; and I feel my bosom dilate with gratitude at

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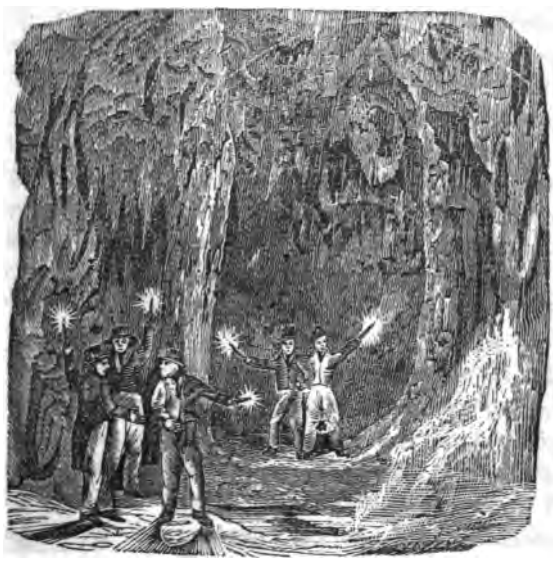
the recollection of her goodness, and care of me during this helpless period of my life. Shortly after the death of my adopted mother, the sage and venerable Indian chief, Tshut-che-nau, whom I have before noticed, died. The whole nation grieved for his loss, a large concourse followed him to the grave, and the ceremony of burial was solemn and deeply impressive. Early in the following spring, a party of about thirty hunters and eleven boys, including myself, started on a hunting excursion; it was the first time the Indians had taken me with them, and the hunt excited great interest, especially as the boys, armed only with bows and arrows, were very successful in the chace. The districts of country remote from the water courses, are generally prairie, and are abundantly supplied with buffalo, elk, deer, bears, and other smaller game.

We passed the summer in hunting and roving; and in the fall, ascended the La Platte several hundred miles, with, a view more particularly to take furs. Near the place where we fixed our camps, which was on the Teel-te-nah, or Dripping Fork, a few miles above its entrance into the La Platte, is an extensive cave, which we visited on several occasions, and always with great reverence and dread.

This cave is remarkable as having been cemetery of some people, who must have inhabited this neighborhood, at a remote period of time as the Indians who now occasionally traverse this district, bury their dead in a manner altogether different.

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The entrance to this cavern was rather above the ground, and though narrow, of easy access. The floor was generally rocky, and much broken; though in some places, particularly in the ante-parts, strips of soil appeared, covered with animal ordure. Parts of the roof were at very unequal distances from the floor, in some places it appeared supported by large, singularly variegated, and beautiful columns; and at others it supported formations resembling huge icicles, which I now suppose to be stalactites.



Lighted up by our birch-bark flambeaux, the cave exhibited an astonishing and wonderful appearance;

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while the loud and distant rumbling or roar of waters through their subterranean channels, filled our minds with apprehension and awe. We discovered two human bodies partly denuded, probably by the casual movements of the animals which frequent this abode of darkness; we inhumed and placed large stones over them, and then made good our retreat, half inclined to believe the tradition which prevails among some of the tribes, and which represents this cavern as the aperture through which the first Indian ascended from the bowels of the earth, and settled on its surface.

About this time a young man named Davis, who I have since learned was from Kentucky, came among us. He belonged to a party of adventuring hunters, which he supposed were all cut off, except himself, by a party of wandering Sioux. His appearance among us excited great sympathy; he claimed our protection, and received a cordial welcome. This occurrence, not without cause, created great apprehension for our own safety; for the Sioux, who had attacked Davis's party, were numerous and not very far off. We had hitherto experienced no incidents calculated to mar the pleasures always connected, in a high degree, with the chace on safe grounds; we had taken much game, the cold, changeable weather had commenced, and our party, after maturely deliberating the subject, determined forthwith to commence their return to the Kansas towns. A division of opinion however, existed as to the route which ought to be taken: some were for

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this route the water courses would direct them, and food would be more easily obtained, as game was more abundant. As, however, the rich and abundant furs, with which the waters of this district were supplied, had become objects of importance to the several tribes which inhabited thereabouts, contentions had arisen between them respecting the right to these hunting grounds; it was finally concluded to course back on the high lands that divide the waters of the Arkansas from those of the Missouri, in preference to inviting the hostility of the belligerents, by passing through the territory in dispute. We accordingly commenced this long and tedious march, and proceeded for several days, without any thing remarkable occurring. We then fell in with a party of Osages, belonging to the Grand Osage nation, who treated us very friendly, and from whom we learned the difficulties and dangers we should have to encounter provided we continued on our route to the Kansas towns. They, pointing in a homeward direction, observed, "The sky is overcast with clouds; all is hostility and war. The tribe of Osages under White Hair, has joined the confederacy against the Kansas; and war parties from the Mahas, Ottowas and Pawnees, now occupy their hunting grounds, and cut off your return."

The Osage party with whom we were, could afford us no protection: to remain on these grounds, or to retreat farther back, would have ensured no safety; for the whole country here-

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abouts, was frequently traversed by hostile parties of Indians; and to give ourselves up to the Mahas or Ottowas, our inveterate enemies, would be inviting our destruction. It was probable, although the Osages under White Hair were at war with our nation, that no engagements had taken place between them to inflame a deadly hatred. Besides they were considered by all the neighboring tribes to be magnanimous and sincere, and were accordingly, much esteemed and respected. A council was therefore held, at which the principal Osages attended and it was determined by their advice, all the circumstances having been maturely weighed to surrender ourselves to the protection of the hostile Osages, as a measure, though exceeding painful, yet offering the best prospects for our safety. We parted from these friendly Osages, with strong expressions of gratitude and regret, after having received their assurances that our reception by White Hair's tribe would be friendly, and might be depended on. They also sent a wampum and greetings, as tokens of their favor, and our peaceful intentions.

We now crossed several ranges of hills, and then coursed down a considerable stream, which, from the incrustations we found on its margin, I now suppose was the grand saline of the Kansas river. On its bank, in the neighborhood of extensive swamps, while pursuing our route, we were surprised by a strolling party of inde-

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pendent Pawnees. They were more numerous, and better armed than we were; but, notwithstanding, our party came off victors. I do not know what number the Pawnees lost, as we took no scalps; it is probable, however, it must have been considerable, from the circumstances of their retreat, which was accompanied with the most hideous yells, and the bearing off of their dead; a practice which they most tenaciously adhere to, even at the risk of their lives. We lost no scalps; but four of our party were killed, including two boys, who had acquired much reputation before they left the Kansas towns, for having, in conjunction with a squaw, killed two of the Ottowas in the act of stealing horses on the banks of the Kansas river. I ought before to have remarked, that these boys had been presented with rifles, in consequence of their good conduct on the above occasion, which probably was the cause of their deaths in the recent engagement. The Indians applauded Davis, who had continued of their party, and was one of the combatants, for his bravery and good conduct in this affair. This was the first engagement I had ever been in; I was armed with a bow and arrows. We next entered upon the hunting grounds of the Osages hostile to the Kansas nation.

Mockasin tracks in the sand plainly indicated that we had nearly arrived at the crisis which was to determine our relations, as to peace or war. These indications continuing to increase, we concluded, and rightly, that we were in the

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immediate neighborhood of their settlements: in consequence of which we encamped on elevated grounds near the river, and dispatched two peace runners, with friendly tokens to the Osage chief. Our messengers were at first, as is common among the Indians, regarded with suspicion, and strict scrutiny; but on giving a satisfactory account of themselves and their party, they were retained, and treated in a friendly manner. In the mean time, the chief convened a council, and sent six of his warriors to welcome our arrival. They were received by our party, divested of their arms, with great satisfaction and joy. Keenees-tah, the chief of our party, and my father by adoption, saluting the principal Osage according to the customs of the Indians, observed, "Our people are now at war. I left them friends at the time I started on a hunting excursion, many moons ago, without any hostile intentions to yours, or any other tribe. I cannot return to my people in safety, and come to claim of you, the rights of hospitality." The Osage, in the same respectful manner, assured him and our party, in the name of his nation, of his friendship and regard, and invited us to sit at the same fire, and smoke the same pipe with them. We accordingly accompanied them to their town, where we were welcomed by all the inhabitants, amounting probably to fifteen hundred, in the most cordial and friendly manner.

I had not been long with the Osages, before I was received into the family of Shen-thweeh, a

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warrior distinguished among his people for his wisdom and bravery, at the instance of Hunkhah, his wife, who had recently lost a son, in an engagement with some of the neighboring tribes. This good woman, whose family now consisted of herself, her husband, a daughter, almost grown, and myself, took every opportunity, and used every means which kindness and benevolence could suggest, to engage my affections and esteem. She used to weep over me, tell me how good her son had been, how much she loved him, and how much she mourned his loss. "You must be good," she would say, "and you shall be my son, and I will be your mother." The daughter, in many respects, imitated the mother; and the greatest care was taken to supply my wants with the choicest things they had in their power to bestow. They made and ornamented mockasins and leggings for me, and furnished me with a beaver cap and buffalo robe; habiliments not usually worn by the Indian boys. In fine, so constant and persevering were their attentions, and so kind and affectionate their care of me, that not to have loved and esteemed them, would have argued a degree of ingratitude and apathy of feeling to which, if I know myself, I then was, and shall forever remain a stranger. Several months had now transpired since the death of my Indian Kansas mother; my Indian father, it is true, had accompanied me throughout our recent excursion to the Dripping Fork; but then, as is customary among the

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Indian warriors, with respect to their offspring, or those whom they may adopt, he showed little or no regard or tenderness for me. Thus, the indulgence of my filial feelings, which I think were proportionally excited as the necessity of parental support increased, was in a measure interrupted. The treatment I received from Hunkhah and her daughter, chimed in harmonious concordance with the vibrations of my bosom: I gave loose to their indulgence, and sincerely loved and respected them, as much, it appears to me, as if they had really been allied to me by the strongest ties of consanguinity. The Osages generally were fond of and kind to me, particularly the children, in whose sports, which much resembled those of the Kansas, I invariably joined, and often excelled. The party of Kansas whom I accompained to the Osage nation, were distributed in different families, and shared in their hospitality, amusements, and toils of the chace. It may be proper, in respect to them, to observe in this place, that the hostility between the Osages and their nation continuing, they were not permitted to return, but suffered in no other respect any restraint whatever. I arrived among the Osages, early in the winter season, and no occurrence took place in respect to myself or this nation, worthy of being noticed, during the following year. I passed my time much in the same manner as while among the Kansas, only with the exception that I occasionally joined the Indians in their hunting excursions.

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The next fall, however, a party of hunters, consisting of Osages and Kansas, took me with them on an excursion, several hundred miles up the main Arkansas river. This expedition, in some respects, proved very fortunate; for we not only collected a large quantity of furs, venison, and buffalo meat, but had the additional satisfaction of gaining a victory over a party of wandering Pawnees, who had the temerity to attack us. In this engagement we only had two wounded, the enemy was entirely routed with the loss of fifteen scalps. I took part in this engagement; but being only armed with a bow, was not more successful, than I had been in my first essay on the Grand Saline.

We returned to the Osage town late the next spring, where a part of our furs were bartered with the traders, who frequently visited the Osages, for rifles; with one of which, each of the boys who had been on the recent hunt, was supplied. Thus armed, and otherwise properly accourted, I felt all the self consequence of a veteran warrior; and panted more to distinguish myself in hazardous war, than in any peaceful pursuits, though probably not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age. I soon learned the use of my rifle in the chace, and used it with great success, in consequence of which, the Indians gave me the name of the *Hunter*. The following summer, with nearly all the winter, was spent in short hunting excursions, with a view, for the most part, to procure provisions; hunting of furs being considered by the

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old men, whose opinions operate with nearly as much force as their acknowledged laws, as highly detrimental to the morals of the Indians. It led to too great a superabundance, which created factitious wants, and afforded the means of their intemperate indulgence, particularly as respected ardent spirits; which had been introduced in considerable quantities among the Osages, after our late successful hunting excursion. Here, I first saw drunken Indians, and witnessed, with indescribable astonishment, its unsocial effects on the women as well as on some of the warriors. No state of society is, in my opinion, more exempt from strife and contention between husband and wife, than that of the Indians generally. The warrior thinks it beneath his character to meddle in any way with the province of his squaw; but, when this *evil spirit* is introduced among them by the traders, this character undergoes a great modification, particularly during the paroxysm of its influence. In fact a drunken Indian and squaw act more like demons than rational human beings, and nearly a whole town in the same situation, as I have since frequently witnessed, would, according to the representations given of them by some poets, bear a strong resemblance to to the *Infernal Regions*. Indeed no language can describe its mischievous effects. The traders take advantage of such occasions to defraud the Indians; who, when they become sober, very often seek redress in the destruction of their property, or in that of the white people themselves. Hence, quarrels and commotions

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are fomented, between them and their trading visitors, and no hope can be rationally entertained by the benefactors of the human family to improve their condition, till this bane to social life be wholly excluded from them.

Resuming my narrative, I think it was in the winter following, the Indians were filled with great terror, on account of the repeated occurrences of violent tremors and oscillations of the earth; the trees and wigwams shook exceedingly; the ice which skirted the margin of the Arkansas river was broken in pieces; and the most of the Indians thought that the Great Spirit, angry with the human race, was about to destroy the world I have no doubt Madrid was sunk by one of these earthquakes, and if so, they must have happened in 1811, which period accords with the subsequent events of my life. Davis, who joined the Kansas party while at the Dripping Fork, left the Osages this winter; I heard from him sometime after, but do not now recollect the particulars; and what has since become of him, I know not.

In the following spring, a party of thirty hunters and six or seven squaws, started on a visit to some of their connections, who remained at the Osage towns, on the Grand Osage river, taking me with them. Our course was up the Arkansas for a considerable distance, thence across the highlands, till we struck the head waters of the Grand Osage river, which we descended, to the village belonging to Clermont, or the builder

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CLERMONT—A CELEBRATED OSAGE CHIEF.

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of towns, a celebrated Osage chief. We remained among the Grand Osages, till early in the next fall. During our stay, I saw a number of white people, who, from different motives, resorted to this nation: among them, was a clergyman, who preached several times to the Indians through an interpreter. He was the first Christian preacher that I had ever heard or seen.

Some of the white people whom I met, as before noticed, among the Osages, were traders, and others were reputed to be runners from their Great Father beyond the Great Waters, to invite the Indians to take up the tomahawk against the settlers. They made many long talks, and distributed many valuable presents; but without being able to shake the resolution which the Osages had formed, to preserve peace with their Great Father, the President. Their determinations were, however, to undergo a more severe trial; Te-cum-seh, the celebrated Shawanee warrior and chief, in company with Francis the prophet, now made their appearance among them.

He addressed them in long, eloquent, and pathetic strains, and an assembly more numerous than had ever been witnessed on any former occasion, listened to him with an intensely agitated, though profoundly respectful interest and attention. In fact, so great was the effect produced by Te-cum-seh's eloquence, that the chiefs adjourned the council, shortly after he had closed his harangue: nor did they finally come to a decision on the great question in debate, for several days afterwards.

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INDIAN WAR COUNCIL.

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When the Osages and distinguished strangers had assembled, Te-cum-seh arose, and in a very dignified, though respectfully complaisant and sympathizing manner, he commenced as follows:

"*Brothers*—We all belong to one family, we are all children of the Great Spirit; we walk in the same path; slake our thirst at the same spring; and now affairs of the greatest concern, lead us to smoke the pipe around the same council fire!

Brothers—We are friends; we must assist each other to bear our burdens. The blood of many of our fathers and brothers has run like water on the ground, to satisfy the avarice of the white men. We, ourselves, are threatened with a great evil; nothing will pacify them but the destruction of all the red men.

Brothers—When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry; they had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble, they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated their distress, and sheared with them whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry, medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them grounds, that they might hunt and raise corn. Brothers, the white people are like poisonous serpents; when chilled, they are feeble and harmless, but invigorate them with warmth, and they sting their benefactors to death.

The white people came among us feeble: and

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now we have made them strong, they wish to kill us, or drive us back, as they would wolves and panthers.

Brothers—The white men are not friends to the Indians; at first they only asked for land sufficient for a wigwam, now, nothing will satisfy them but the whole of our hunting grounds, from the rising to the setting sun.

Brothers—The white men want more than our hunting grounds—they wish to kill our warriors; they would even kill our old men, women, and little ones.

Brothers—Many winters ago, there was no land—the sun did not rise and set: all was darkness. The Great Spirit made all things. He gave the white people a home beyond the great waters. He supplied these grounds with game, and gave them to his red children, and he gave them strength and courage to defend them.

Brothers—My people wish for peace, the red men all wish for peace: but where the white people are, there is no peace for them, except it be in the bosom of our mother.

Brothers—The white men despise and cheat the Indians; they abuse and insult them; they do not think the red men sufficiently good to live.

The red men have borne many and great injuries; they ought to suffer them no longer. My people will not; they are determined on vengeance; they have taken up the tomakawk; they will make it fat with blood—they will drink the blood of the white people.

Brothers—My people are brave and numerous, but

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the white people are too strong for them alone. I wish you to take up the tomahawk with them. If we all unite, we will cause the rivers to stain the great waters with their blood.

Brothers—If you do not unite with us, they will first destroy us, and then you will fall an easy prey to them. They have destroyed many nations of red men, because they were not united, because they were not friends to each other.

Brothers—The white people send runners amongst us; they wish to make us enemies, that they may sweep over, and desolate our hunting grounds, like devastating winds, or rushing waters.

Brothers—Our Great Father, over the great waters, is angry with the white people, our enemies. He will send his brave warriors against them; he will send us rifles, and whatever else we want—he is our friend, and we are his children.

Brothers—Who are the white people that we should fear them? They cannot run fast, and are good marks to shoot at; they are only men; our fathers have killed many of them; we are not squaws, and we will stain the earth red with their blood.

Brothers—The Great Spirit is angry with our enemies—he speaks in thunder, and the earth swallows up villages, and drinks up the Mississippi. The great waters will cover their low-lands, their corn cannot grow, and the Great Spirit will sweep those who escape to the hills, from the earth with his terrible breath.

Brothers—We must be united; we must smoke

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the same pipe ; we must fight each other's battles ; an more than all, we must love the Great Spirit; he is for us ; he will destroy our enemies, and make all his red children happy."

On the following day, Francis the prophet addressed the Osages in council, and although he repeated almost precisely the language of Te-cumseh, and enlarged considerably more, on the power, and disposition of the Great Spirit; yet his discourse produced comparatively little effect on his audience. He was not a favorite among the Indians, and I am of opinion, that it did more injury than benefit, to the cause he undertook to espouse.

After they had concluded their speeches, I looked upon war as inevitable ; and in its consequences contemplated the destruction of our enemies, and the restoration of the Indians to their primitive rights, power, and happiness. There was nothing I then so ardently desired as that of being a warrior, and I even envied those who were to achieve these important objects, the fame and glory that would redound as a necessary result. In a short time afterwards, however, the Osages rejected Tecum-seh's proposals, and all these brilliant prospects vanished.

I return again to my narrative. A new event worthy of remark grew out of some depredations of the wandering Pawanees on the property of the Osages. Some squaws who had gone after the horses for the purpose of bringing in game, surprised a party of this description, in the very act of

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stealing them. The Osages had, on several former occasions, lost their horses, but from the manner in which they were taken, knew not on whom to retaliate the injury. The discovery being made, a party of about sixty of their warriors, including myself, started in pursuit. We followed their tracks up Grand river for a considerable distance, when the signs indicating that they were not far in advance, a council was held to decide whether we should continue the pursuit forthwith, or wait till they had encamped for the night. We determined to proceed on; but with the greatest caution. In the mean time two spies were sent a-head, with a view to make discoveries while the main party marched slowly and quietly after them, in single file.

About two miles from the place where we halted, there was a sand beach bounded by the river on one side, and on the other by high abrupt cliffs, which in time of floods, could not be passed.

On arriving at this place, which was now passable, the spies discovered that a part of the Pawnees had left the direct route, and taken a circuitous one round these cliffs through the prairie grass, which at this time was very high and thick. In consequence of this, they returned immediately to the main party. Our principal chief, who was well experienced in all the cunning and artifice of Indian warfare, rightly concluding that our party had been discovered, and that an ambuscade had been planned to surprise it, took his measures accordingly. The Pawnees, in order to deceive us, had sent a detachment from their party, for a short

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distance on the direct route; but their trail in the other direction, was too perceptible to pass unnoticed. We therefore proceeded in it, till we arrived within from forty to sixty yards of where they were secreted among the shrubbery and rocks, waiting for us to pass on the other route between them and the river. We then singled out our object, and, on a signal given by the chief, fired on them. The surprise was complete: the party, which was much more numerous than ours, was routed, and eighteen scalps taken. In this engagement, I took a scalp, which was my first and last essay of the kind. I name this, with great repugnance to my present feelings; but, as I set out to give a correct history of my life, I cannot, in justice to the subject, omit this circumstance.

After so decisive a victory, any further pursuit of the enemy would have been useless, for fear had added speed to their flight. We therefore returned home, where we were received as war parties usually are by the Indians, after a fortunate and successful expedition. Previous to this occurrence, I had never received any marked attention from the squaws; but on this occasion, particularly the young ones danced around me in the most extravagant and exulting manner. They ornamented my head, arms, and legs, with feathers, stained porcupine quills, deer sinews, &c., and struck up the song of victory accompanied with their musical instruments; if such as they use deserve that name. Subsequently I went on several excursions; but no incident worthy of remark took place, till about the middle

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of the following fall, when we discovered a numerous party of the Pawnees on our hunting grounds; who, though they had committed no depredations, exhibited by this intrusion no very friendly disposition. Besides, it was one of the wandering parties, with some of which we had before been engaged. We furthermore considered the step they had taken as a challenge of defiance, and accordingly prepared to repel it. * * Our party consisting of nearly two hundred warriors, well armed and otherwise provided, started in pursuit, up the Arkansas river. We had not marched over sixty miles, before we discovered a small party of the enemy, which had just killed a buffalo, and which simultaneously discovering us, dispersed in the greatest confusion. We attempted to cut off their retreat, with a view to prevent an alarm being given, but were unsuccessful. They joined their main body, which had sufficient time to prepare for our reception. The Pawnees secreted themselves among the rocks and shrubbery of an adjacent hill, in a very advantageous situation; while our party approached them under cover of the trees, which extended to the very foot of the hill, and commenced a desultory firing, on such of them as were discoverable. The engagement continued till dark; several were killed and wounded on both sides but no scalps were taken. During the night, the Pawnees retreated several miles up the river, while our party remained without fire on the battle ground. Early the next morning we commenced the pursuit, overtook and renewed the engagement with them, some time before the middle of the day. Both parties were now

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covered by a thick and large growth of trees on an alluvion bottom, so that the advantages of ground were more equal than in the preceding engagement; however, as we were the pursuers, they rather inclined in our favor. This fighting pursuit continued till nearly night, when we completely routed them, and took about twenty scalps. Our party suffered considerably while dodging from tree to tree. We lost seventeen killed, and had about the same number wounded; among the latter of which I had the misfortune to be included, having received a ball just below the knee joint. The Pawness must have suffered much more considerably, as I judge from the traces of blood which appeared shortly after the engagement was renewed, and which continued to increase until they were routed. Their whole party was at no time engaged, some being in advance with their dead and wounded, all of which they succeeded in carrying off, till the engagement had nearly come to a close. This fact was fully established from the circumstance, that all the wounds of those who fell into our hands, were recent; while traces of blood continued beyond the place where they were finally dispersed. Towards the close of the fight, they left some of their dead bodies behind; a circumstance which plainly indicated that their loss had been severe, and that they intended to fly to their advance party, which must have been some miles a-head, as soon as a favorable opportunity offered, or the darkness of the approaching night would cover their flight. These indications, while they served to depress the Pawnees, who

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never leave their dead unless reduced to the last extremity, operated on our party as a powerful excitement to press the fight and pursuit and no doubt produced a much more signal result, than otherwise would have happened.

The Osages after a consultation, concluded to give over the pursuit, returned with their dead and wounded a short distance, to a good watering place, and encamped for the night. Four days after this, they arrived at their towns, and were received with general demonstrations of joy. The Osages kept a steady eye on the Kansas party that had thrown itself on their protection; and usually so contrived their hunting parties, as to have a majority of their own nation in them. This, I am satisfied was their policy; though it was executed with delicacy, and apparently without imposing any restraint. The Kansas suspected their motives; and, when by themselves, had frequent conversations on the subject: plans for their escape had been proposed; but it was utterly impossible for the whole number to co-operate simultaneously, without exciting a suspicion that would either defeat them altogether or prove fatal to a portion of their party.

Some of the leading and most restless of the Kansas, planned a hunting expedition. I have no doubt they intended to include their whole party, so that should an opportunity offer, they might return to their towns on the Kansas river, though such a design was never declared. I was merely asked to volunteer, whenever the excursion should be proposed. But however adroit the plan was, or what-

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ever it had for its object, the whole of the Kansas could not be induced to embark in it. Some of them were sick, some had married among the Osages, and some, probably, did not approve of the measure.

The trees had just begun to show their foliage, when we commenced our journey up the Arkansas: we pursued our course very steadily, at the the probable rate of thirty or thirty-five miles a day, stopping only when we required refreshment or rest. On arriving at the usual crossing place of the Indians between the Arkansas and Kansas rivers, one of the principal Kansas of our party proposed privately to me and same others, to separate from the Osages, and return to the Kansas towns. I strenuously opposed the measure; because my Kansas father remained at the Osage towns; who together with the other Kansas, not included in our party, might, I was apprehensive, be sacrificed to requite such treachery; and because my ambition, which had been much excited by the prospective results of our contemplated expedition, would, in consequence, suffer a total disappointment. Besides, I had been a long time from the Kansas, and was not particularly attached to any of the tribe, while with the Osages, I had left a mother and sister, who were dear to me, and who loved me in return.

Having arrived at our old camping grounds on the Dripping Fork, a few miles from its entrance into the La Platte, we remained several days, and then crossed, and followed the main stream, in a generally direct course, nearly to its source among the

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Rocky Mountains. The prairies continue a great distance up, and they are generally undulating and rich in their hollows; but receding from these, they gradually become sterile, and terminate either in sandy or clay ridges.

On our way up, we fell in with a party of friendly Maha Indians who were ascending the river, to a former battle ground, with a view to collect the bones, and pay the last solemn rites to the remains of their unfortunate countrymen, who, some time before, had been surprised and all cut off by their enemies, except one, who was their pilot on this occasion. This individual escape had something of the miraculous in it, and some account of it here, may not prove uninteresting to my readers. The Mahas, to the number of forty or fifty, were on a hunting excursion, and had encamped on the banks of a considerable stream, that flows into the La Platte. In this situation, they were surrounded on all sides, except that of the river, by a numerous party of Indians; who made their advance so cautiously, as not to be perceived till they had singled out and fired upon their objects. The war whoop and rush then followed, and all, except four or five who fled to the river, were massacred on the spot. Those who took to the river, were pursued, and all, except Nee-kish-lau-teeh, the subject of this anecdote, were shot as they were swimming. Nee-kish-lau-teeh, though twice slightly wounded, escaped to the opposite shore, and took a circuitous route through some woods that bordered on it, struck the river again, some distance below, but in sight of his

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NEE-KISH-LAU-TEE.

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camps, and there secretly observed the motions of his enemies. He supposed, that all his companions had been slain, and that no efforts of his foes would be wanting to number him with them, in order more effectually to skreen themselves from detection, and avert the just vengeance which their atrocious conduct merited.

In the supposition he was not mistaken; for, on arriving at the bank, as just noticed, he observed the Indians making preparations to cross after him. In consequence of which he again took to the woods, following the course of the river, till he came to a bend, where he re-swam it, and then changed his course directly back towards the place where his party had been surprised. On arriving within a suitable distance to notice whatever might transpire, he secreted himself in some drift grass with which the willows adjacent to the stream were thickly interwoven, and there patiently waited for two days and two nights, the events that followed. The Indians, to the number of ten or twelve, crossed the river in pursuit, showed themselves at several places on the banks, both above and below their crossing place, and, towards night, re-crosssed and joined their main party. Early next morning, a still greater number crossed the river, and took its course downwards; while another party took the same direction on the side where Nee-kish-lau-teeh had secreted himself. This party was so arranged as to sweep the whole of the thick undergrowth along the shore: it proceeded slowly, and searched apparently in every place but the one which contained the ob-

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ject of their pursuit. The Maha had nearly buried himself in the sand, and was otherwise completely hidden; he saw his blood-thirsty foes almost in the act of trading him under their feet, and heard them encouraging each other, and threatening him with cruel tortures and a lingering death; but he fortunately escaped their search. At night the parties returned and encamped; and the next morning, having abandoned the search, crossed the river, and journeyed into the country along its banks. The Maha remained in his hiding place all that day, and at night, in hopes of procuring some food, cautiously approached first the recent encampments of the hostile Indians, and then those of his unfortunate companions.

He found buffalo meat, satisfied his appetite, slaked his thirst at a neighboring spring, cleansed and dressed his wounds, and made such provision as he could for a long journey.

He was feeble from long fasting and the wounds he had received, and was without any offensive or defensive weapons, whatever; but, nevertheless, in the dead of the night, with sensations too painful to be described, he left this ill-fated spot covered with the mangled carcasses of his brother warriors.

On his journey home, he traveled in the night time, secreted himself by day, and subsisted altogether on roots: after much suffering, however, he carried the distressing intelligence to his countrymen.

A party of Loups committed this horrid massacre; a long and bloody war followed, in which the Mahas

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fully satiated their desire for revenge. They had beaten them wholly from these grounds, and could now hunt on them, without the fear of being disturbed. Such at least is the account that Nee-kish-lau-teeh gave of the transaction, and the consequences that followed. This Maha was probably fifty years of age, when I saw him: he spoke the Kansas language so as with some difficulty to be understood. He had been once across the Rocky Mountains, and much among the neighboring tribes and nations, by whom, as well as by his own people, he was held in high estimation. They even supposed him to be more under the immediate protection of the Great Spirit, than the generality of the Indians: hence his influence was great, and besides the duties of a chief, he often performed those of a prophet and physician.

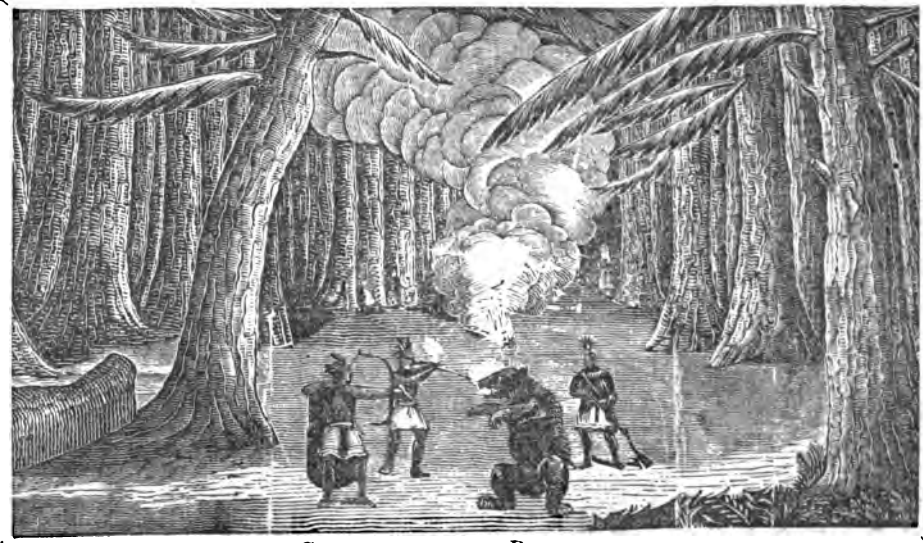
The description this old man gave of his excursion to the great hills of the west, excited the curiosity and ambition of our whole party, and was the primary cause that led us to the execution of a similar expedition.

We continued with the Mahas several days. On our way farther up we met several parties of hunters, most of whom, as we approached the mountains, were armed with bows, arrows, and spears.

We were, at first, met with suspicion and distrust; but when the motives of our excursion were made known, we were as uniformly received with friendship, and treated with hospitality.

We now directed our course up a consider-

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STRUGGLE WITH A BEAR.

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able branch of the La Platte, and unanimously agreed to proceed onwards, as far as the summits of the Great Western Hills, and still further, should circumstances prove favorable. At a short distance above the place where we struck this river, our course was interrupted by a remarkable cliff, which we could not ascend, and between which and the water, there was no possibility of passing: we therefore, having examined a considerable fall in the river, and ascertained the foregoing facts, varied our course, till this range of hills afforded a convenient pass.

We here met small parties of Indians, comparatively poor, but nevertheless, hospitable and friendly. I accompanied two of our party in pursuit of game up a small stream, and we soon discovered two unusually large brown bears, which, so far from being intimidated at our approach, made directly for us, in a rapid and threatening manner. When first seen they were only at a short distance from us, and we scarcely had time to level our pieces and fire, before one of my companions was in the grasp of one of these ferocious animals, now rendered furious by a wound we had inflicted. Fortunately for us the other had been shot through the heart, and fell immediately dead, so that all our efforts could be directed to relieve our companion from his perilous situation. Our rifles had all been discharged, and the urgency was too great to attempt to reload them; we therefore resorted to our long knives and tomahawks and although we thrust

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the former their whole length repeatedly into the bear, and cut it in an extraordinary manner with the latter, yet some time elapsed before we could extricate him from the potent fangs and claws of his rapacious adversary. The poor fellow was shockingly bitten and torn, and in great danger of losing his life.

We had received from some of the Indians, a general description of the route, but we had no trails or marks to guide us. We found very little game to supply our wants, and were obliged to waste our ammunition on pheasants and small game, which, in some of the vallies, were very abundant. We also shot some mountain goats, and a few block-tailed deer. The cold was at times severe, and we experienced several falls of snow, hail, and rain.

Soon after, we struck a small stream, and followed it some distance, and finding game still scarce, owing as we supposed to the sterility of the soil; we crossed to our left several ranges of hills, where were some deer, and in the course of two days came to an Indian settlement, on the margin of a considerable stream. These Indians were less suspicious than any we had before met. They were small in stature, well made, but exceedingly filthy.

Some of these Indians accompanied us down the country, to other villages belonging to the same nation. We stopped but a short time, smoked the pipe of friendship, and still accompanied by some of them, continued our route down the river. As we advanced, we found the Indians more numerous, equally friendly, and more liberally disposed, than

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those we had passed in the upper country. The nations through which we passed, did not possess the warlike character of the Indians of the Missouri and Mississippi regions. They were all at peace, and had frequent intercourse with each other, without



First View of the Pacific.

exciting the least suspicion or jealousy. We continued our route, sometimes over barren prairies, hills, &c., and at others, through woods, till we arrived at the great Pacific ocean. Here, the sur-

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prise and astonishment of our whole party, was indescribably great. The unbounded view of waters, the incessant and tremendous dashing of the waves along the shore, accompanied with a noise resembling the roar of loud and distant thunder, filled our minds with the most sublime and awful sensations, and fixed on them as immutable truths, the tradition we had received from our old men, that the great waters divide the residence of the Great Spirit, from the temporary abodes of his red children. We here contemplated in silent dread, the immense difficulties over which we should be obliged to triumph after death, before we could arrive at those delightful hunting grounds, which are unalterably destined for such only as do good, and love the Great Spirit. We looked in vain for the stranded and shattered canoes of those who had done wickedly. We could see none, and we were led to hope that they were few in number. We offered up our devotions, or I might rather say, our minds were serious, and our devotions continued, all the time we were in this country, for we had ever been taught to believe, that the Great Spirit resided on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, and this idea continued throughout the journey, notwithstanding the more specific water boundary assigned to him by our traditionary dogmas.

We arrived at the ocean, on the south side of Chock-a-li-lum, (Columbia river) and coasted southwardly, to a small inlet, around which several detached huts were situated. The Indians inhabiting them were not very numerous; they subsisted chiefly by fishing.

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These Indians called themselves Calt-sops: the country around them is mountainous, and covered with a large growth of evergreen trees. From these they make their canoes.

These canoes are highly valued, in consequence of the difficulty experienced in constructing them They are articles of traffic only in matrimonial ne gociations; and a young Indian was busily employ ed, while we were there, in making one which was to be exchanged for the daughter of his intended father-in-law.

We remained but a few days with these Indians, for the reasons above stated, and because a general anxiety prevailed among our party to be on their journey homeward.

After having taken our leave of them and of the Great Waters, which had excited and still maintained an indescribable interest in our minds, we returned by the route we descended, till we arrived at the entrance of the Mult-no-mah, (River of much game) into the Columbia. From whence, by the advice of the Mult-no-mah Indians, we pursued the course of that river, nearly to its sources, on account of the hunting grounds in its vicinity being reputedly supplied with an abundance of game. The Indians settled along its course received us in a very friendly manner.

They differ very little in their habits and modes of life, from those on the Columbia river. A small tribe of Indians, calling themselves Leesh-te-losh, reside on the head waters of the Mult-no-mah; they were larger, better made, more warlike, and of a

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whiter color than any others we saw to the west of the Rocky Mountains. Passing these, we found, as we had been told we should, considerable game on the borders of a very large lake.

The Indians here, however, were not so friendly as w could have wished; but we conciliated their chief with presents, consisting of a tomahawk and two knives. The lake was well supplied with fish, which they took in considerable quantities with spears made of hard wood or pointed with bone. We next crossed several ranges of hills, and found ourselves among a tribe of poor, inoffensive, and friendly Indians, with whom, if game had been plenty, or their stores abundant, we should have remained all the winter, as the season had now become cold, and snow had fallen on the level country, so as to render the travelling difficult.

We, however, pursued our route over a country whose surface was considerably varied, but which could not be called mountainous. We had now arrived at the neighborhood of the Great Mountains, and concluded, if in the summer we suffered extremely from the cold, in crossing them, that the attempt at the inclement season of winter, might, and probably would, terminate in the destruction of our whole party. It was therefore determined to form camps, and remain where we were, till the approach of milder weather. We accordingly set to work, and with poles, the barks of trees and brush, constructed lodges under the declivity of some lofty rocks, in a pleasant southern exposure.

Near by, were several springs of water; one of

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which was of a temperature nearly sufficient to have cooked food, though we made no particular use of it.

Our powder and ball had now become scarce; with a view, therefore, to husband them to the best advantage, we provided ourselves with bows and arrows, and parties of our hunters used them sometimes with considerable success. They always, however, took some rifles with them, in order if chance should offer, to kill larger game at a distance, and to defend themselves against the white and brown bears, and panthers which frequent these regions. The panther and wolf, attracted, probably, by the scent of our food, frequently prowled round our camps, and so much were they to be apprehended, particularly the former, that no one ever ventured to go out alone, even on the most trifling occasion.

We killed several of them, and one under such peculiar circumstances, as to deserve notice. This one, as is the usual habit of the animal, in taking its prey, had secreted itself in a crouching position, behind a rock, close to the spring we frequented, and was not discovered by two of our party, who were going for water, till they had arrived within its leaping distance. They, however, were not thrown off their guard by the violent agitations produced by the discovery; but exercised a presence of mind, which, I think, few men in their situation would have done, and which, in all probability, saved at least one of their lives. Tare-heem, who was in the advance, the moment he discovered the danger he was in, gave directions to his companion, and stepped cau-

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tiously backward, keeping his eyes rivetted, if I may use the expression, all the while, on those of his adversary. In this manner, they soon retreated beyond its bounding distance, and finally reached the camp in safety, though not without great apprehension. Tare-heem shot it a few moments afterwards, in nearly the same position in which he left it, and it proved to be the largest panther that any of our party had before seen. He brought the skin with him to the Osage nation, and took great pains to preserve it.

At the breaking up of winter, having supplied ourselves with such things as were necessary, and the situation afforded, all our party visited the spring from which we had procured our supplies of water, and there offered up our orisons to the Great Spirit, for having preserved us in health and safety, and for having supplied all our wants. This is the constant practice of the Osages, Kansas, and many other nations of Indians, located west of the Mississippi, on breaking up their encampments.

From our winter's encampment, we soon arrived at, and crossed the various ranges of mountains which divide the waters, flowing eastwardly and westwardly, from each other. We had supposed, from the course pursued in our recrossing the mountains, and inclining northwardly, that we should strike upon our old tracks; but in this we were disappointed.

We made several excursions, first in one direction, and then in another, without procuring to ourselves any satisfaction as to the place where we were, or

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the course which ought to be pursued to conduct us to our homes. Much time transpired in these perplexing circumstances; our whole party were completely lost, which, in fact, was the first time in my life that I had ever known of an individual occurrence of the kind, though they sometimes happen; and this was the more extraordinary, as we were thirty-seven in number. We knew that we had returned by a route more to the south than the one by which we went out, and finally determined to course our way north and eastwardly, inclining considerably from the parallel direction of the mountains.

Shortly afterwards, we arrived on the banks of a small stream which flowed in nearly a northern direction. In a few days after this, we came to a much more considerable one which flowed eastwardly. Here we discovered a small party of Indians, who, though we proffered every token of peace and friendship, fled with great precipitation.

We concluded rightly that they were only a hunting detachment from a more numerous party, and accordingly determined to guard against a surprise, in case they should prove hostile, by crossing to the opposite side of the river. This done, we proceeded slowly on, carrying our arms in the attitude of peace. In two or three hours, we unexpectedly arrived near several temporary wigwams, which, notwithstanding all our efforts to prevent it, were deserted by some old men, women, and children, their only tenants, who fled, in the utmost consternation, to the neighboring woods. To have proceeded

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onwards at this time, without essaying to conciliate the good feelings of these Indians, would have been an act of defiance. We therefore sent Tare-heem unarmed in pursuit, in order to explain our friendly intentions, and, if possible, to smoke the pipe of peace with them. He returned in a short time in company with some of the old men, among whom was one who could speak the Mahas language, which was also spoken by some of our party. We explained the nature of our situation, told them to what nation we belonged, inquired where we were, and tendered them wampums and the pipe of peace. They were, at first, exceedingly cautious, but relaxing as they became more acquainted, they smoked with us, in token of friendship. The women and children returned soon afterwards, and we were offered food; and, much to our satisfaction, told that we were now on the main Arkansas river. We had scarcely regaled ourselves, before some hunters came in; they appeared far from being satisfied with their new guests, and the reception they had received. We, however, secured their friendship, very timely for us, with the presents of a rifle to the principal chief, and several tomahawks and knives to others of less distinction. We had barely terminated this negotiation, when a party of fifty or sixty warriors arrived in pursuit of us; among them, as we afterwards learned, were the Indians who fled from us in the early part of the day. They at first appeared ferocious, but as they belonged to the same tribe of Indians whose friendship we had purchased, and under whose roofs we now were, they

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forbore the commission of any hostile acts. A new negotiation was now set forth, and we gratuitously parted with two more rifles, and a few tomahawks; and subsequently bartered two more of our rifles for beaver skins. It is highly probable, had there been no lodges at this place, or of the hunters had been at their encampments when our party arrived, that we should have been wholly cut off. These Indians were principally armed with bows, tomahawks, and spears; appeared ferocious and warlike, and belonged to the Tetau nation. We placed but little confidence in them, and, therefore, as soon as we had prepared four canoes from the skins of buffalos, &c., we took our leave, not, however, without strong apprehensions of being pursued and destroyed.

We, however, finally escaped beyond their reach. The navigation continued good for several days after we left the Tetaus; lower down it was interrupted by rapids and shoals.

The Osages had looked upon us as lost, and greeted our arrival among them, in the most joyful, and tumultuous manner. My Indian mother and sister wept aloud, and the squaws, young and old, danced around us to the cadence of their festival songs, and decorated our persons in the same manner as though we had returned triumphant over the enemies of our country. The old men and warriors listened with wonder and astonishment at the narration of our adventures, and lavished on us the meeds of praise, and high encomiums, heretofore only bestowed on the most distinguished of their nation. In fine, Tare-heem, who before ranked as a distin-

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guished and leading warrior, was now listened to among the sage counsellors: the rest of the party were ranked among the bravest of the warriors, and many of the unmarried men received from the young squaws, some a greater, and some a less number of ears of corn, as so many individual invitations to enter into matrimonial alliance.

This journey occupied nearly sixteen moons. The following seasons were passed in short hunting excursions, festivals and amusements till the spring arrived, when a considerable party, including myself, visited the Grand Osage nation, where we remained a few days. I became acquainted with, and received particular marks of favor from Clermont the principal chief, and some of his most distinguished warriors. There was at this time, among the Osages, a trader named Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard or half Indian, who was now bound on a trading expedition up the Missouri, in company with a Mr. M'Lane another trader, and several Spanish, French, and American boatmen.

This Manuel Lisa was an artful, cunning man; he had several private interviews with me, and used every argument in his power to persuade me to accompany him in his intended voyage. I finally concluded to go with him on condition that some of the Kansas and Osages from White Hair's tribe, would join the party, which they consented to, and about twenty of us, in addition to the hunting party, descended the Osage river, and proceeded up the Missouri, in boats constructed for the purpose.

Having ascended so far as to render my return ex-

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ceedingly hazardous, and being, as he now thought, sure of my services, he threw off the disguise, in order, no doubt, if possible, to make me sensible of my dependence on him, and to secure my entire obedience to his will: but he found himself mistaken. The obligations, he, myself, and our whole party knew were due from and not to him.

Several harsh words passed between us, when, on my assuming a position that threatened a summary and perhaps more severe chastisement than his offence merited, he submitted to ask my pardon; and for some time afterwards, treated me not with a real, but an effected tenderness and regard.

My conduct on this occasion was much approved, and secured me the friendship of all our party, except the original transgressor. From this place we continued up the Missouri till we arrived in the neighborhood of the Great Falls; on our way we had frequent interviews with the several tribes of Indians inhabiting its borders, and the traders entered into similar engagements with most of them, as they had before done with those lower down. Otherwise, nothing worthy of notice happened, till several days after our arrival near the falls above named, when on account of a general dissatisfaction at the conduct of Lisa, all the Osages, who were ten in number, and myself, after having explained our motives to the traders, and their party, abandoned them, and took our course down the river, in the most direct manner. Lisa did all in his power to prevent our departure.

On the third or fourth day after we left the tra-

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ders, one of our party was bitten on the fleshy part of the leg by a rattlesnake. The wound was deep; but was immediately cut out with a sharp knife, and the incision cautertzed with a heated stone. This occurrence delayed us but a short time, when it happened, though subsequently it occasioned us much delay, on account of the sufferings it produced.

Some days afterwards, we met a party of English traders, with whom we bartered such furs as we had taken, for powder, ball, &c. By signs we made them understand our apprehensions of the hostile Sioux, which were settled lower down, on the Missouri. They, in a similar manner, advised us to avoid them altogether, by changing our direction southeastwardly, after we should arrive at the Mandan villages, till we struck on the waters of the Mississippi, and then, to descend that river. After separating from this party, our progress was slow, and much interrupted by the lameness and indisposition of one of our party, occasionee, as before noticed, by the bite of a rattlesnake. The exposure and irritation produced by traveling, had induced a high local inflammation and fever, which threatened the life of the sufferer, and rendered an encampment necessary. In consequence of this circumstance, we were detained several weeks; and finally resumed our journey, bearing our patient on a litter.

In a few days, however, we were amply compensated for all our delays and troubles, in his entire recovery. This Indian's name was Wen-ga-shee; he was a powerful and brave warrior, proved of essential service to us on our journey home, and, when

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I left them, continued to be much respected by the Osages. On arriving at the Mandan settlements, we attempted to follow the advice given us by the English traders; and after traveling for several days, in which we scarcely once observed the sun, on account of the fogs or smoke which prevailed, we came to a stream that flowed, as indicated by the rising of the sun, in nearly an eastward direction. Our party, to a man, snpposed this stream to be one of the heading branches of the Mississippi.

In a few days afterwards, however, we discovered, very much to our surprise and mortification, the sun rising obliquely behind us on the right; and, at a short distance ahead, a much larger stream than the one we were on, which flowed in nearly a westward course.

We all now concluded, and rightly, that we had taken a wrong direction, and had not inclined sufficiently to the right after having left the Mandans. In consequence of this, it was concluded to follow the largest stream, which we did for several days.

Some of our party were now for crossing obliquely to the right, over to the stream which we had first struck, after leaving the Missouri, and from thence directing our course from the Mississippi, as first intended; but Tun-gah, to whom all looked as their chief, preferred the present route, and the others acquiesced.

Previous to this, several snows had fallen. We next arrived at a considerable lake, and met a party of Chippewa Indians, who treated us kindly, and informed us where we were, and of the route we

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ought to pursue. Following their advice, we altered our course to that of nearly south, and the next day after, experienced a most severe, snow storm; which terminating in hail and severely cold weather, ob liged us to encamp. A crust was now formed, which broke through at every step we took, and let us above our knees into the snow; and what was still more disagreeable, our mockasins and leggings soon gave out, and our feet and legs became nearly frozen, and very much lacerated. To repair them and obviate this suffering, we first cut up the few spare skins we had, and, when these were exhausted, commenced on our buffalo robes: but with all the exertions we could make, our progress was slow; seldom amounting to twenty miles a day. We nevertheless continued slowly on, and should, I believe have accomplished our return home had not two of our party unfortunately become so badly frozen in their feet, as to make an encampment essential to their preservation.

We therefore soon cleared a spot in a small growth of woods, fixed poles, thatched them with brush, and finally covered the whole with a thick stratum of snow; which, with the fire we kept, and the few skins we had, formed, as to temperature, a comfortable lodge.

We often attempted to hunt, but the snow was too deep to wade through it, and too light to support us; we therefore were compelled to remain in our lodge, at the imminent risk of starvation.

We occasionally shot a wolf, as they prowled round our lodge, and in one instance an animal of the cat kind.

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INDIAN LODGES.

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With these, including their skins and offals, and the bark of some shrubbery, we made out to sustain the flame of life, till those who were frozen, had recovered, and the weather had apparently moderated; when though so much reduced as barely to be able to walk, we renewed our journey, in hopes of finding some Indian lodge, or falling in with game.

We, however, suffered disappointment in both; and what added still more to our distress, on the second day's march, we were overwhelmed in one of those boisterous and tempestuous snow storms, which sometimes happen in those northern regions, towards the breaking up of the winter, and of the severity of which no idea can be formed short of experience. The flakes fell in such rapid succession, as nearly to fill the atmosphere; and were driven by the vehemence of the winds, with such force as almost to obstruct our vision. The weather was intensely cold, and no retreat was to be found to shelter us from these threatening catastrophes. We spread a few skins on the snow, crowded in a heap upon them, covered ourselves with what remained, and, under the strongest conviction that our existence would here terminate, devoutly resigned ourselves to the disposition of the Great Spirit. The place where we had thus committed ourselves, proved afterwards to be situated on the borders of a thin, stinted growth of pines, on one side of which was a field of snow extending beyond the reach of vision, through which the terminating branches of some shrubbery occasionally made their appearance.

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How long we remained in this state, is altogether out of my power to say; but we had fallen asleep, and were awakened by the howling of a wolf, which sometimes was very near us, and at others, receded till it was lost in remoteness. The repetition of this circumstance, induced the belief that our retreat had been discovered by one of these animals, which, not being sufficiently courageous to attack us alone, had raised the cries we heard to rally others to his assistance. With a view, should such prove the fact, of resisting them and procuring some food to resuscitate our nearly exhausted frames, we attempted to rise, but found ourselves confined by an almost irresistible barrier of snow; and, thinking it more advisable to dig ourselves a passage out, than to continue efforts, which, if they succeeded, would spoil our lodge, we soon made an aperture through which we might pass with facility, though none of us, at this time, ventured out. To the tempest which so lately threatened our existence, had succeeded a most brilliant moonlight night; the winds had hushed, and all, except the distant howls of the wolf as before noticed, was profound silence. In this state of things, Wen-ga-shee, one of our party, placed himself in the outlet of our lodge with his rifle, and, much to our joy and relief, shot the wolf soon after, as it approached him. From long abstinence our desire for food had become voracious; and part of this animal was literally devoured by us, without undergoing any preparation, while it was yet warm in its blood. This repast, although made in an intensely cold night, on the surface of a deep,

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snow, and with very little more to cover us than the ethereal arch, was by far the most delicious, that any of our party had ever before enjoyed. We had scarcely completed it, when our ears were again assailed with the approaching howls of another wolf; we therefore retreated to our snowy cell, laid in wait as before, and on its arrival shot this also. In the course of the night we killed four more, which were probably attracted in succession to the place, by the howlings of those that preceded. Several more approached us in the fore part of the following day, but they were so shy, that we could not get within shooting distance of them. The snow, in the late storm, fell in great quantities; and in consequence of the violence of the winds, had formed into deep drifts, particularly where we were. Our cell, for such the place we now occupied might with propriety be called, was directly under one of them, which was several feet deep. The warmth of our bodies had occasioned the snow to settle somewhat beneath us, but not sufficiently so to afford room for a sitting posture. We therefore set to work, and in a short time, with the assistance of our skins, excavated the snow to a depth and extent sufficiently great to contain us in any desirable posture.

With the stock of food we had on hand, we might have remained several days, compararively comfortable, provided it had been possible to have kept a fire; but such a measure was incompatible with the existence of our mansion, and to have removed from it, would be to expose ourselves to other, and perhaps greater dangers and inconveniences. We there-

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fore formed a curtain door to our habitation with a bear skin, secured our provisions as well as we could, lighted our pipes, and smooked the day away, in gloomy silence. The night following, we watched by turns for the wolves, and killed three more early in the evening, which were the last we saw while in this singular encampment, though we often distinctly heard their howls at a distance. We had suffered much from cold on the preceding day, and determining if possible, to obviate a similar occurrence, we cut down several of the neighboring pines, with the trunks of which we pitched a roof over our lodge, thatched it with branches and leaves, and finally made it tight with the snow which we broke away from the arch and walls of our snow cell below. Soon after we made a fire in it, but found ourselves, in the course of the following day, extremely uncomfortable from the dampness of our situation. We remedied this inconvenience in a short time, by forming a sort of floor of the same materials, omitting the snow, as used for the roof, and subsequently kept ourselves, in respect to temperature, tolerably comfortable. In respect to food, our situation was far otherwise: we were constantly on a very limited allowance, and, towards the close of this extraordinary sojourning, without any thing to eat except moss, and the inner bark of trees, for several days together; so that our situation became extremely alarming, from the prospect of starvation.

Some attempts were made to take game, but not a trace of any living creature, except wolves, could be discovered. But in the midst of our distress, the Great Spirit forsook us not.

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On the morning of a very pleasant day, I had strolled, or rather crawled, a short distance from our cell with my rifle, in hopes that game of some kind or other, would make its appearance. In this expectation, extraordinary as it may seem, I was not disappointed; for I had scarcely proceded one hundred yards, before my attention was attracted by an extraordinary large elk, which was approaching me in rather an oblique direction, in a careless and easy gait. Fortunately there happened to be a slight elevation, or drift of snow just ahead, behind which I skreened myself, and when it had arrived, as I thought, sufficiently near, shot at, and wounded it; but notwithstanding it made off at full speed. Some of the strongest and best provided of our party, hearing the report of my rifle, came up to ascertain the cause, joined in pursuit, and soon discovered, to our surprise, a large panther fixed upon its throat, and devouring it with great rapacity. We shot two balls through the body of this intruder, which, on first discovering us, as though aware that he should be forced to dispute the prize, had put himself in an attitude of defence; showing his fangs, and growling defiance. As soon as the panther had received our balls, he made several bounds of surprising length, directly towards us, and then, perhaps fortunately for us, fell dead.

We next dressed their skins, repaired our mockasins and robes, dried some of the meat, and after returning thanks to the Great Spirit for having preserved us through so many perils, commenced our march down the Mississippi. We soon came to some

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lodges of Chippewa Indians, where we received such attentions as our necessities required. From thence, continuing our course along the river, through the Chippewa hunting grounds, we were generally welcomed, and kindly treated.

We crossed the country by the usual route to the Osage settlements of White Hair's tribe on the Arkansas, where we were received in the same manner as we had formerly been, on our return from the Pacific Ocean.

On my arrival, I found several white traders and hunters with the Osages, among whom were colonel Watkins, and a Mr. Combs, who treated me with particular attention and kindness. They gave me some small presents, acquired my confidence, and, in the most pressing and persuasive manner, invited me to accompany them back to the white settlements. I was strongly attached to the habits and manner of life I had acquired, I therefore peremtorily rejected all their offers.

Shortly after my return, a party of about thirty, including myself, consisting mostly of young men, started on a hunting excursion. It perhaps deserves to be noticed, that the hunters, after the beaver season is over, generally terminate their hunting campaigns in pursuit of the smaller kinds of game. Six of our number visited colonel Watkin's main encampment on the Arkansas, below the confluence of the Brushy Fork. They were treated with kindness, but unfortunately permitted to barter for too much whisky: a circumstance which came near proving fatal to the traders, and all their party. On leaving the encampment, these Indians stole six horses from Watkins, which were grazing on the prairies, and, returning up the Brushy Fork, killed and scalped Mr. La Fouche, a French trader, and plundered his camp of all the furs, goods, &c., which it contained.

With their hands thus stained in blood, and rendered fu-

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rious by the excessive use of whisky, they returned to our camps, distributed the poisonous and infuriating liquid among the rest of the hunters, and, raving in the most frantic man-



BEAVER DAM—BEAVER HUNTING GROUNDS.

ner against the whites, threw down their spoils and trampled them under foot; at the same time exhibiting the scalp of the unfortunate La Fouch, and threatening a similar vengeance on all the whites.

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The liquor went frequently round, and in a short time nothing was to be seen or heard but the war dance, the war song, and the most bitter imprecations against all those who had trespassed on their rights, and robbed them of their game.

They next mentioned the great quantity of furs that Watkins had collected; which if suffered to be taken away would only serve as an inducement for other, and more numerous parties to frequent their hunting grounds. "In a short time," say they, "our lands, now our pride and glory, will become as desolate as the Rocky Mountains, whither perhaps we shall be obliged to fly, for support and protection." These addresses produced the intended effect on the now pliant and overheated minds of their audience; and it was immediately determined to cut off and spoil the whole of Watkins' party. These proceedings produced, in my bosom, the most acute, and indescribably painful sensations. I was obliged, nevertheless, to suppress them, in order to avoid suspicion; for, should they have entertained the least, either against me, or any one of the party, the consequence, at this time, would have been instant death to the person suspected, and that too, without any ceremony. Therefore, with an apparent cordiality, I lent my consent and joined among the most vociferous in approving the measure, and upbraiding the conduct of the traders. From the first proposition that was made to cut off this party, I never hesitated, in my own mind, as to the course of conduct I ought to pursue. After I had matured my plan to my own satisfaction, I dissembled, very much to my surprise, with as plausible assurance as I have since sometimes seen practised in civilized life. In fact, I not only acted my part so well as to avoid suspicion, but maintained so high a place in their confidence, as to be entrusted, at my own solicitation, to guard our encampment. The whisky being exhausted, and the Indians retired to rest under its stupefactive influence, I silently and cautiously re-

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moved all the flints from the guns, emptied the primings from the pans, took my own rifle and other equipments, and, mounting the best horse that had been stolen on the preceding day, made my escape, and gave the alarm to Watkins and his party.

I made considerable noise in taking my horse, and disengaging the others from their fastenings, so as to prevent their use, in case the Indians should discover my absence and determine on pursuing me. Our dog heard me, and gave the alarm ; at least I supppose such was the case, as it barked very loud, at first pursued me, and then alternately broke off and renewed the pursuit with increased ardor, as though it had been recently urged on and encouraged. The distance from our camp to Watkins', was between twenty-five and thirty miles ; more than half of which was through thick briars and brush-wood, where there was neither path nor trail to direct me. It was before the dawn of day, and quite dark when I left them, in consequence of which, and the expedition I made, I lost every thing I had except my rifle.

On arriving at the crossing place of the Brushy Fork, I left the main, or Wells' trace, which, to avoid a rochy hill, led circuitously round and over a tremendous swamp. I apprehended, in case I followed it, that my horse might be swallowed up, and, that I should be overtaken by my pursuers and destroyed. I therefore took my course over an almost impassable acclivity, which detained me nearly as much time as Wells' trace would, had it been passable for a horse.

When I had passed this hill, and struck the path I had just left, it had become light, and, not discovering any one in pursuit, much against my own inclination, but in ebedience to a necessary policy, I shot the dog, reloaded my rifle, and then continued my flight as fast as my horse could possibly carry me.

The dog had hitherto been a constant source of annoyance and apprehension to me, on account of the continual barking it kept up ; which, if the Indians were following, as I had reason to believe was the case, served to pilot them in their pursuit.

Relieved from my perplexing companion, I varied my course at the first stream of water I came to, by following

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its channel a short distance downwards; and then striking off to my left, I soon crossed the prairies, and arrived at Watkins' camp, before any one had left it in the pursuit of game, as heretofore had been the daily practice.

In very few words I informed them of the murder of La Fouche, and the danger they themselves were in. The hunters in general were exceedingly alarmed, and proposed an immediate retreat; but colonel Watkins, who was a brave and courageous man, would not listen to it. He instantly ordered the preparations to be made to repel any attack that might be made on them, and I was requested to join in the defence, should one become necessary: but I refused, stating that it was sufficient for me to have betrayed my countrymen, without augmenting the crime, by fighting against, and possibly killing some of them. Colonel Watkins replied that they were not my countrymen; that I was a white man; and what I had done, and what he requested me to do, were no more than my duty.

My prejudices against the whites generally, were at this time as great as they had ever before been; my attachment for the Indians and Indian mode of life, was ardent and enthusiastic; I therefore could not, or rather would not understand this new relationship. I now hated the very looks of colonel Watkins, who, before, had appeared so amiable and good; despised myself for the treachery of which I had been culpable, and almost regretted the part I had performed. This change in my conduct and feelings could not escape the notice of Watkins; who, sensible of the obligations he was under to me, and having, previously to my arrival, nearly completed his arrangements for descending the Arkansas, ordered instant preparations to be made for a decampment. I descended the river with this party, nearly to its junction with the Mississippi.

I determined on abandoning his party, in search of consolation and quiet to my half distracted mind, among some tribe of Indians, who, ignorant of my treachery towads the Osages, would receive me to their fellowship. Accordingly, after having received from Col. Watkins, some presents, such as a powderflask, powder, lead, balls, bullet moulds, flints, &c., which at that time were of great value and consequence to me, I left this party I believe, to their sincere regret.

I journeyed nearly north, over a country, which at first

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was level and partly composed of prairie land, though afterwards, it was somewhat hilly; and in the course of a few days struck upon the waters flowing, as I have since learned, into White river, at which I afterwards arrived, and gradually ascended in a northern direction till it became only a small stream.

The prairie lands I passed over were covered with a very luxuriant grazing vegetation, and afforded subsistence for exceeding numerous herds of buffalo, elk, and deer.

The hunting seasons for furs had now gone by, and the time and labor necessary to procure food for myself, was very inconsiderable. Apart from the hunting that was essential to my subsistence, I practised various arts to take fish, birds, and small game, frequently bathed in the river, and took great pleasure in regarding the dispositions and habits of such animals, as were presented to my observations.

In one of my excursions, while seated in the shade of a large tree, situated on a gentle declivity, with a view to procure some mitigation from the oppressive heat of the midday sun, I was surprised by a tremendous rushing noise. I sprang up and discovered a herd, I believe, of a thousand buffaloes running at full speed directly towards me; with a view, as I supposed, to beat off the flies, which at this season are inconceivably troublesome to those animals.

I placed myself behind a tree; the buffaloes passed so near me on both sides, that I could have touched several of them merely by extending my arm. In rear of the herd was one on which a hugh panther had fixed, and was voraciously engaged in cutting off the muscles of its neck. I did not discover this circumstance till it had nearly passed beyond rifle-shot distance, when I discharged my piece, and wounded the panther. It instantly left its hold on the buffalo, and bounded with great rapidity towards me. On witnessing the result of my shot, the apprehensions I suffered can scarcely be imagined. I had, however, sufficient presence of mind to retreat and secrete myself behind the trunk of the tree, opposite to its approaching direction. Here, solicitous for what possibly might be the result of my unfortunate shot, I prepared both my knife and tomahawk, for what I supposed a deadly conflict with this terrible animal. In a few moments, however, I had the satisfaction to hear it in the branches of the tree over my head. My rifle had just been dis-

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charged, and I entertained fears that I could not reload it, without discovering and yet exposing myself to the fury of its destructive rage. I looked into the tree with the utmost caution, but could not perceive it, though its groans and vengeance breathing growls, told me that it was not far off, and also what I had to expect, in case it should discover me. In this situation, with my eyes almost constantly directed upwards to observe its motion, I silentlently loaded my rifle, and then creeping softly round the trunk of the tree, saw my formidable enemy resting on a considerable branch, about thirty feet from the ground, with his side fairly exposed. I was unobserved, took deliberate aim, and shot it through the heart. It made a single bound from the tree to the earth, and died in a moment afterwards. I reloaded my rifle before I ventured to approach it, and even then, not without some apprehension. I took its skin, and was, with the assistance of fire and smoke, enabled to preserve and dress it.

On several occasions, when I awaked in the morning, I found a rattlesnake coiled up close along side of me: some precaution was necessarily used to void them. In one instance I lay quiet till the snake saw fit to retire; in another, I rolled gradually, and imperceptibly two or three times over, till out of its reach. And in another, where the snake was still more remote, but in which we simultaneously discovered each other, I was obliged, while it was generously warning me of the danger I had to fear from the venomous potency of its fangs, to kill it with my tomahawk.

In the solitary and roving manner before noticed, I passed several moons on a number of small streams, which flowed into White river. One morning I discovered some white people approaching me. From their dress and equipments I knew them to be hunters, and therefore apprehended nothing from them; though, they were nevertheless unwelcome visitants, and I felt much distressed at having my haunts encroached on, and my solitude interrupted, especially by white people. I received them rather cautiously and cavalierly; but on being addressed by one of them named Levous, in a complaisant and friendly manner, and that too in the Osage language, my conduct and feelings underwent a total and instant revolution, and I actually danced for joy.

This party consisted of five Frenchmen, who were on an

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exploring excursion to search out the most favorable places for taking furs. From the knowledge I had obtained of the adjacent country, I saved them the trouble of any further research: they therefore returned down the river to a place called Flees' settlement. After some persuasion I accompanied them, and on my arrival found a number of white people located at this point and in its vicinity.

My appearanee excited considerable interest. While in this place, I acquired a knowledge of many words in the English language, and, at the repeated and not to be denied instance of the American women, for the first time in my life, arrayed myself in the costume of the whites.

The hunting season arrived, and, having furnished myself with several traps and other essentials, I started with Levous and some others, on our contemplated hunting excursion. We had good success, and in the spring returned down the river to Flees' Settlement, where we made a short stay, and subsequently continued our route to the Mississippi, with an intention of descending that river in search of a market: but, meeting with some traders at Maxwell's fort, just above the mouth of White river, I concluded to dispose of my furs, and remain for the present at this place. Some people of respectability, particularly Messrs. Wyatt, Finley, and Henderson, informed me of the value of my furs in the current money of the country.

On account of the supposed reciprocity of good feelings, between myself and one Davis, I sold him my pelts in preference to any other, for six hundred and fifty dollars. On making payment, he counselled me, in the most friendly manner, to be cautious how I disposed of my money. He stated, that the white people generally, would be on the alert to take advantage of my ignorence of the value of things, and modes of negociation, to defraud me of it; and further, that many of them, if they knew how large an amount I had, would not hesitate to rob, and, to prevent detection, even to kill me. He urged me to avoid these dangers by accompanying him; to this proposition, however, I objected, and he took his departure down the river, laying me under the strongest injunctions to secrete my money in some safe place, and whenever I wanted some, to take only a single note at a time. I regarded all that this fiend in human shape had said, as truth; and, not having any imme-

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diate wants to satisfy, which made an expenditure necessary, a sufficient time elapsed for him to escape, before I found out the fraud he had practised on me. The discovery however was soon made, and happened in the following manner. Mr. Wyatt, whom I just before mentioned, had frequent interviews with me, and expressed great solicitude to see me settled in some employment that would restrain my roving disposition, concentrate my efforts and desires to a single object, and establish habits of industry and usefulness. He recommended agriculture to me. I accordingly deposited in his hands all my treasure to be laid out in land, stating at the same time the amount. The old gentleman counted it over in the presence of his family, and, with indignation and surprise strongly depicted in his countenance, inquired if this was all I had. I answered, as was the fact, that it was all I had obtained for my furs, except five or six dollars. "The villain, the yankee villian," he replied, "has cheated you: instead of six hundred and fifty dollars, you have only twenty-two!!!"

This I found to be the case; and my agricultural schemes were wholly defeated, for the present. The Indians had constantly inculcated on my mind, while I was with them, that fraud, cupidity, and perfidiousness, were indiscriminate traits in the character of the white men. Thinking now these precepts were dogmas, not to be questioned, I determined to abandon forever, all farther connections with them.

Wyatt, who was then, and has ever since proved my sincere friend, resolutely oppcsed such a measure. "You cannot suppose," said he, "that either myself, Mr. Finley, or Mr. Henderson, or such and such individuals," repeating the names of several respectable persons, "would, on any account, have served you so. There are but few among us that would; and, as you advance into the settlements, the proportional number of such wicked people becomes very much diminished.

However consistent his mode of reasoning was, it made little or no impression on me; and taking my leave of him, and a few acquaintances I had formed, I started with a determined resolution to make no considerable stop, till I arrived at the Kansas towns, where I had formerly resided. I was diverted from my purpose, however, by two young men, named Tibbs and Warren, who resided in the neighborhood of New Madrid, but were now on their way to the river St. Francis, in search of good hunting grounds. The mere mention of their intended excursion, was sufficient to induce me to join them, and we forthwith proceeded on our journey. We started up the west fork of the St. Francis river, on a hunting and trading excursion, where we passed the whole of that hunting season. In the spring, we descended the river to its junction with the Mississippi, and proceeded down to Natches, where we disposed of our furs. My part of the proceeds came to rising eleven hundred dollars; the most of which I deposited for safe keeping in the hands of Doctor Sanderson, a very respectable physician of that place. Soon afterwards, I engaged in company with the above named Tibbs and Warren, in the capacity of boatman, with some Kentuckians who were short of help, and continued down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Here, new scenes for both my admiration and disgust presented themselves to view. The arrangement, comparative elegance, and number of buildings; the magnitude, finish,

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and great collection of ships or vessels; the vast multitude of people, and the extent and bustle of business, excited the former, while the tumultuous revelry, intemperance, and debanchery of the boatmen and sailors, the abandoned demeanor of some unfortunate females, and the assemblage of a filthy multitude of blacks and whites, motley in all the intermediate shades, scarcely submitting to any moral restraints, and degraded in servitude and its concomitant vices, too low to be associated in the scale of rational human beings, but too well calculated to produce the latter.

Leaving New Orleans, I returned in company with my employers, through the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, to Kentucky, and from thence to the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau, in the Missouri territory, where I remained about six weeks, engaged in acquiring a rudimental knowledge of the English language, in a respectable school, conducted by Mr. G. Simpson. While with the Indians, they had given me the name of HUNTER, because of my expertness and success in the chace. And as Mr. John Dunn, a gentleman of high respectability, of Cape Girardeau county, state of Missouri, had treated me in every respect more like a brother or son than any other individual had, I adopted his name, and have since been known by the name of John Dunn Hunter.

In the following fall, I ascended the Mississippi and Missouri rivers as far as Boon's Lick, in company with several others, on a trading expedition. At this place I became acquainted with the celebrated Col. Boon, the gentleman who first adventured to settle among the Indians, in that part of Virginia, now known as the state of Kentucky.

From a very successful expedition I returned to St. Louis, where I exchanged my furs for produce from Kentucky, and descended the Mississippi river with it to New Orleans. I passed the following summer and fall, in obtaining a further knowledge of the English language, under the tuition of Mr. Robert Currie, a very respectable teacher, who conducted a flourishing seminary in the vicinity of Pearl River, in the Mississippi territory. I remained at this school, under that gentleman, and Mr. John Lewis his successor, at subsequent intervals between the trading seasons, so as to make the whole period of my studies amount to about two years and a half, exclusive of about six weeks, which I passed, in the autumn of 1821, at Mr. Samuel Wilson's academy, near Walnut Hills, in Mercer county, Kentucky.

For some time after I entered school, I experienced great difficulty in learning the pronunciation and meaning of words; this, however, being once partially surmounted, my progress was easy, till I could read, so as to understand all the common school books that were placed in my hands. During the recess of my school employments, I seldom went any where without a book. I had access to some respectable libraries, and became literally infatuated with reading.

I passed my winters, as I had heretofore, since I left the Osages, in taking, or trading for furs, which I subsequently disposed of, on profitable terms, at New Orleans. During my last visit at this place, I accidentally met my friend, Col. Watkins; the interview was highly interesting, and sincerely affecting to us both. He made various propositions to induce me to form a connection with him in the fur and cotton trade, to which I thought it unadvisable to accede, on account of my ignorance of commercial transactions, and my anxiety for the attainment of more extensive knowledge. He gave me much useful advice respecting my future intercourse with the world; treated me, in every respect, with the interest and attention that a fond father would an affectionate son; inquired into the state of my affairs; and enjoined it on me, as a matter of right, to call on him, should I ever stand in need of his assistance.

I visited several of the largest towns, and formed an acquaintance with some of the most respectable people in the Western States. There were many among them, who were particularly friendly; and who advised me to journey eastwardly as far as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, with a view to publish the history of my life, and such information as I possessed, respecting the Indian nations settled west of the Mississippi river.

With my mind thus filled with lofty expectations; ignorant of the world, of my own powers, and the vanity of the attempts I contemplated; unknown to a single human being, with whom I could claim kindred, except from common origin; and even indebted to circumstances for a name; in the fall of 1821, I crossed the Alleghany mountains, and as it were, commenced a new existence. By this, however, I intend no local reflection, for wherever I visited, hospitality and friendship have been inmates, and often hailed me in the silent though expressive language of the heart, "thou art my brother.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE MATERIA MEDICA OF THE INDIANS.

HAVING finished that part of my work which treats of the manners and customs of the Indians, I shall now proceed to fulfil my engagements in respect to their Materia Medica.

Here, as on some of the preceding subjects, I am under the necessity of abridging my remarks for want of room; but I shall endeavor to do justice to those of the greatest consequence, so that very little, if any loss will result from this circumstance.

I need not anticipate my readers by telling them the subject offered to their perusal is a dry record of facts. They have my assurance that I have seldom indulged in remarks obtained from a foreign source, but have confined them to such circumstances as came within the sphere of my own immediate notice, or to information from persons, whose regard for truth places them above suspicion.

Their remedies like their diseases are comparatively few, and on that very account seem not to require a systematic arrangement. I shall, nevertheless, discuss them in alphabetical order, but without attempting to give their technical synonymes for the same reasons stated in the beginning of this Work. Indeed some of the English names are of my own application; but such are conformed either to their Indian meanings, or their particular qualities or appearance.

LA-GO-NEE-HAW.—*Agreeable taste.*

Angelica.—This plant grows abundantly in high and

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dry soils, in various parts of the western country. It is held in high repute among the Indians, and always constitutes an ingredient in the medicine bag. It is chiefly valued however as an agreeable commodity for smoking, in which way they frequently use it alone, though they prefer it mixed with tobacco. It is often eaten by the Indians while traveling and short of provisions. It is liable, however, to produce heartburn and other symptoms of indigestion. They sometimes give it in the diseases of their children, but it has no great claims as a medicine. It is sometimes mixed with other remedies, to render them more palatable.

TUT-TE-SEE-HAU.—*It expels the wind.*

Anise grows in great profusion in moist shaded soils. The roots are perennial, and possess a very agreeable taste and aromatic smell. They are frequently eaten in traveling, are considered good to remove flatulency, and are sometimes given in combination with other drugs to render them less disagreeable to the patient.

HE-NE-PIS-KA.—*Fire gone out.*

Ashes.—The Indians make a ley from water and the ashes obtained from sound wood; it is taken, much diluted, for sourness in the stomach. They digest grains of corn in it, and eat them as a remedy for the same disease. The ashes of tobacco, and the mountain laurel, are applied with considerable advantage, to ill-conditioned ulcers.

HON-KOS-KAU-GA-SHA.—*It stops the blood flowing out.*

Astringent root.—This is a shrubby plant, growing in abundance in the edges of the prairies and hill-

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sides through the Western country. Its principal virtue consists in its astringent properties which it possesses in a very high degree. It is one of their favorite remedies in stopping bleeding from wounds; the dried root is powdered and put on the mouths of the bleeding vessel and a bandage bound over it. The Indians have great confidence in it. They use it very much both internally in form of tea, and externally as a wash in female complaints. But by far the most efficacious purpose to which this root is applied, is to stop the spitting of blood; an affection which frequently exists amongst them, in consequence of their long and hurried marches. They seldom travel without it; a half tea spoonful in cold water is the dose. I know it to be a highly valuable article in their materia medica.

SHES-KA-NE-SHU.—*Washing in the river.*

Bathing.—This, though perhaps not strictly speaking a cure for their diseases, is a very good preventive. It is much practiced, constitutes one of their greatest pleasures, and I am persuaded contributes very much to strengthen the body and invigorate the constitution. Men, women and children, from early infancy, are in the daily habit of bathing, during the warm months; and not unfrequently after cold weather has set in.

WAS-SAW-BAPE-SHA.—*It scares bears away.*

Bears fright.—This is a small annual plant, growing in abundance on the hills in the Western territories. It has a strong disagreeable smell, on which account, the Indians say that the bear will neither approach it, or any one who carries it about them; but I should

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not like to trust its efficacy, particularly with the brown bears of the mountainous regions. The root is given as a sudorific, and is also one of their most violent cathartics.

WAS-SAW-BA-HE-JA.—*The fat of the bear.*

Bear's oil.—This is used as a medicine, both internally and externally, in combination with many drugs. It is used as a menstruum, for the gall of the earth, yellow root, prickly ash, black root and several other plants, and with them respectively forms excellent unctions for various cutaneous diseases. They are in the habit of taking it both for medicine and for food. For colds they scethe the roots of wild liquorice in it, which they drink hot as they can well bear it. They also take it for asthma and pleurisy. They esteem it among the most valuable articles of food; especially in their journies. It is highly nutritive, agrees well with the stomach, and produces no thirst. From the smallness of the quantity necessary to satisfy the appetite it produces no shortness of breath. The Indians, while traveling, take about four ounces in twenty-four hours, which they continue for days together, with very little other nourishment. An ointment is prepared by mixing buckeye leaves with it, which rubbed over the skin is very good to keep off the musketoes; and is much used for that purpose.

SHA-BA-WA-NEM-BRA.—*Beavers eat it.*

The Beaver root—very much resembles the common garden carrot, in size and appearance, but in taste it is agreeably bitter. The top grows to a height of three or four feet and bears large broad and deeply indented

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leaves. The root is much used by the hunters, as a bait for beavers, which are exceedingly fond of it, and from which circumstance its name is derived.

It is used as a tonic, and as such deservedly merits the high reputation awarded to it by the Indians.

E-HAU-WAH.—*It makes sick.*

Black Locust.—The inner bark of this tree is a powerful emetic, and as such is used by the Indians.

HAS-HAK-A-DA-TON-GA.—*Strong soldier.*

Black root.—The plant rises about one foot in height, has rough serrated leaves, nearly heart shaped, standing on long foot stalks: the root, in very small doses, is a drastic cathartic. It commonly produces severe griping pains, and sometimes the discharge of blood, vertigo and partial blindness: from its property, which affects vision, some call it Heenee (darkness). It is sometimes taken as an abortive.

HE-NE-SKA.—*Dark colored liquor.*

Black Walnut.—The rinds or hulls of the black walnut readily impart their virtues to water, changing its transparency to a deep black. Taken in doses of an ounce, and repeated at proper intervals, it effects a speedy relief in cases of the cholic. It is highly reputed among the Indians, and I believe fully merits the character they have given it.

TAR-TON-GA-ON-BA.—*Eye ball of the Buck.*

Buckeye.—There are two varieties of this tree; the medicinal has a most beautiful white soft wood; and is much used by the frontier settlers to make domestic utensils, such as bowls, spoons, &c. The nut is the

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part used by the Indians as a remedy in diarrhœa. Its leaves possess a disagreeable nauseous smell, somewhat similar to the Datura Stramonium and like the nuts, are highly narcotic. The leaves and fruit are both so poisonous as to destroy many of the cattle, which sometimes accidentally eat them; this circumstance has caused the western farmers to cut many of the trees down, in order to prevent similar recurrences. They are however exceedingly tenacious of life, and when felled in the spring, their leaves frequently expand and flourish through the summer. The effects produced on such animals as eat it are contraction of the large upper muscles of the neck and the consequent elevation of the head, one or both eyes turned inwards, apparently fixed, violent inflatus of the body, obstinate constipation; an almost entire loss of muscular action, and finally convulsions and death.

Having carefully attended to these effects an eminent physician Dr. E. M'Dowell of Danville, Kentucky, made several experiments on himself, with the kernel of the nut in frequently repeated doses of a few grains each; he continued his experiments until after having taken ten grains in a few hours; the effects were very similar to what three grains of opium would have produced in the same length of time.

CHEE-ZA-HAU.—*It seems to fill the belly.*

Chee-za-hau.—The name of this plant is in the Indian dialect indicative of its properties which are diuretic. It is a small delicate vine which delights in a rich moist soil, and rising from small fibrous roots, supports itself on the neighboring shrubbery. About

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the middle of July it produces a great number of small white flowers, which are followed by a profuse crop of small brown colored seeds in shape and size resembling the grains of buck-wheat.

The leaves are heart shaped, and about the size of a dollar. It exerts its diuretic properties to an uncommon degree with very little inconvenience to the patient.

A sense of fullness and distention in the abdomen, somewhat similar to that arising from eating freely of water-melons, is the only inconvenience experienced from its use. The Indians employ this plant with good effect in dropsies. They make it into a tea, and give it in large doses, frequently repeated.

The result generally is a profuse discharge of urine, but I have seen them almost faint from the excessive flow of this secretion. The leaves and vine either in the recent or dried state, and sometimes the whole of the plant are used. It possesses a slightly bitter taste, from which one might suppose it possessed a tonic power; it is in a small degree narcotic. The Indians sometimes smoke the leaves as a luxury; though they are not so highly esteemed as those of the sumach.

KOW-O-LA-E-KO.—*Physic for horses.*

Columbian Root.—This plant grows in rich southern exposures in great abundance throughout the Arkansas and Missouri countries. It is among the earliest that appear in the spring, rises to three or four feet in height, and sends one large root into the ground, which resembles in size and appearance the common

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parsnip. It is, in combination with the bark of the wild cherry and snake root, a favorite remedy among the Indians in intermitting fever, general debility, weakness and sickness of the stomach, and in diseases incident to females. When their children are afflicted or supposed to be afflicted with worms, they administer this tonic in mixture with anthelmintic remedies, as they believe it dangerous to purge off the worms when they are much debilitated, without the observance of some such precautionary measure.

NE-WA-SHA-NE-WA-SHA.—*Cold as ice.*

Cooling plant.—This grows only in cool shaded places, where the soil is moist. The stalk is annual, and grows three or four feet high; the leaves are very succulent, of a deep green color, serrated, oval, and about three inches long. The recent leaves bruised and applied to swellings and inflammations, give in almost all cases, immediate relief. It deserves to be and is highly valued by the Indians.

TAR-ME-A.—*Like the deer's tongue.*

Deer's Tongue.—This is a small plant, producing only a single leaf, which is in the shape of the deer's tongue, from which circumstance it derives its name; it appears early in the spring, and bears a white blossom. It is prized highly in breast complaints, is given in powder, and also in decoction. I do not think it a very active medicine.

SHO-MA-CAS-SA-ES-SA-RAH.—*It kills wolves.*

Devil's bit, or gall of the earth.—This small plant when applied in its recent state is capable of exciting inflammation of the skin; it is used in the treatment

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of ulcers, as an escharotic, and also for keeping open issues, the importance of which in particular constitutional habits, the Indians very well understand.

O-GA-SHE-GA.—*Running on the ground.*

Dew-berry root.—An infusion of this is given cold in bowel complaints; it is not however considered a very active remedy.

MAS-TIN-JAY.—*Rabbit.*

Dittany.—This is a plant too well known in this country to require any description from me. It is highly esteemed as a sudorific in coughs, colds, and diseases of the febrile order.

They give the hot infusion very freely; the patient being covered up warm. The leaves are much used for smoking and chewing among several tribes. It is entirely free from the narcotic properties of tobacco; and is pleasant tasted, though it produces a slight degree of pungency on the tongue.

SHEN-DON-SHU-GAH.—*Bitter red berry.*

Dog wood.—They give the bark of this tree in combination with bitters of various kinds, in fevers of the low type, and when there is great prostration of strength. I believe however, they value it mostly in form of poultice, as a corrector of ill condition sores.

E-SHAW-WAW.—*It pukes.*

Emetic bean.—This vegetable grows in great abundance throughout the countries situated on the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Vermilion. The beans are small and of a red color; two or three of them chewed and swallowed, prove a pretty active emetic; for which

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purpose they are employed by the Indians. They are also taken as abortives. They possess something of an intoxicating property, and are taken in small doses as a preparatory regimen for war, and to produce dreams.

WESH-KE-NAH.—*It relieves hard breathing.*

The flax weed—grows in the fissures of rocks, particularly on cliffs, on the margin of the rivers, to the height of ten or twelve inches; the root sends off many branches, which in July produce numerous small pale blue flowers. The Indians gather the plant, while in blossom, and prescribe it for asthmas and coughs with the happiest effect. The roots, leaves and stalks are made into a decoction, and given freely to the patient, as warm as he can conveniently take it; and no medicine displays its salutary effects more promptly. I speak thus confidently, because I have witnessed its operations. The Indians sometimes while traveling, or when just returned from long and fatiguing journeys, are seized with the asthma, but are certain to obtain prompt and decided relief from this remedy. I believe it almost uniformly excites a perspiration, on the appearance of which the patient becomes easy.

TON-GA-SHIN-GA.—*It gives strength to a child.*

Gentian wild.—This plant has commonly four or five branching roots, which are about the size of a man's finger. The stalks, to the number of five or six, grow to a height of two or three feet, and bear yellow pulpy seeds or berries, which adhere closely to the stalk, at the junction of the leaves, which are nearly oval shaped and rough. The Indians make great use of

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the root in cases of debility; especially when accompanied with affections of the stomach. They most commonly make use of it in decoction, though they sometimes take it in substance. They combine it with dog wood and wild cherry bark; and give it in cold infusion in intermittents, while the fever is off. Thus prepared it is also given for the palpitation of the heart and in dropsies.

SIN-DES-NES-NI.—*It grows by the water.*

Green-twig.—This is a shrub very common on the banks of rivers and water courses. It seldom attains to a height exceeding six or eight feet, and is considered valuable in colds, and asthma; they give a warm infusion at night, with a design to excite perspiration. The roots are used for anthelmintic purposes, and the inner bark as a febrifuge and sudorific.

SHEM-BA—*Giddiness.*

Hazel-nut.—They make poultices of the bark of the hazel nut tree, as an external application for ulcers, tumors, &c.

MOS-C-AR-NE-WAT-CHAR.—*It causes heat and cold.*

Indian Balsam.—This is one of the most valuable articles belonging to the Indian class of remedies. I do not know that it has ever been noticed by any writer; I shall therefore endeavor to give such a description of it, as when seen not to be mistaken.

The plant seldom attains to a height exceeding four or five inches; has three heart shaped leaves, about the size of a half dollar, supported on the apex of each stalk. The top is annual, but the root is perennial.

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The root separates into four or five branches of from three to five inches in length, are of a very white color, and when recent, about the size of a goose quill. It is commonly found in an arable fertile soil, completely shaded by other plants. Its other sensible qualities are nearly as follows: The smell is somewhat like that of cedar berries, and its taste aromatic and resinous, resembling that of Copaiba balsam: they are both improved by keeping. Chewing it produces a copious flow of saliva, and not unfrequently tears.

On swallowing it, a burning sensation is imparted to the throat, which is followed by a sense of coolness, that seems to extend over the whole system. It may be described as an agreeable sensation.

A remarkable trait in the character of this article is its producing an extensive and obvious action on the system, without any inconvenience to the patient.

The Indians consider this as one of the most valuable of all their remedies; in colds, coughs, asthmas and consumptions, they give it in substance or infusion with the most happy effects.

In fact such is the reputation of this plant among them, that the physicians settled on their frontiers, have introduced it amongst their curatives, and speak higly in its favor. Doctor Kinckhloe near Woodberry, Missisippi, and Dr. Sanderson, near Natchez, in Mississippi, have both prescribed it and declare its effects to have surpassed their expectations; they say its introduction into general practice, will constitute a valuable addition to the Materi Medica.

It is more particularly valuable, those physicians

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say, in pulmonary consumption, during the period of hectic fever.

SKU-TE-NA-JA.—*It makes sick.*

Indian Physic.—The emetic and sudorific virtues of this plant are well known to the Indians, and they employ it in the cure of fevers, bowel complaints, &c.

E-HAW-SHO-GA.—*Bite the month.*

Indian Turnip.—This is another of the remedies in common use among the Osage and Shawnee Indians. They confine its use, however, I believe to coughs, and intermitting fevers. For coughs they give it in decoction with spikenard and wild liquorice; and in intermittents when the fever is off, in substance combined with snake root, and wild cherry tree bark.

SHEN-DA-SAW-BA.—*Black Dye.*

Iron.—From the cliffs of rocks bordering on some streams, mineralized waters much resembling a dilute solution of copperas (sulphate of iron) exude and especially in very dry weather deposit a substance which I now believe to be the oxide of iron. The Indians collect it, and place much reliance on its vermifuge powers. They give it as such by simply mixing it with cold water.

But they place more confidence in it as an ingredient in their favorite remedy for dropsy, which is composed of this substance, the leaves of the sourwood tree, and wild cherry bark, without much regard to fixed quantities. They boil them sometimes together, and when cold give the patient a draught of it three or four times a day. On the Grand Saline, Vermillion and Blue Earth rivers this substance is found in considerable quantities.

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CHE-SA-NE-PE-SHA.—*It pains the bowels.*

May Apple.—The root of this plant is the part used as a medicine. They give it in powder as a cathartic; the dose is about the same as that of jalap or rhubarb. They give it as an antidote for poison, and frequently prescribe it in the commencement of fevers. The fruit is esteemed as a delicacy: it is in great abundance in various parts of the western forests.

NE-PE-SHA.—*Bad luck to touch it.*

Milk weed.—There are two species of the milk-weed or silk plant on the Arkansas river. One is the plant well known in this country by the name of Asclepias syriaca. The other is peculiar I believe to the Western country, at least I have never seen it elsewhere. It is nearly allied to the former in some of its botanical characters; it differs however in having its leaves fringed with a white border, and in being less thick and milky. It grows plentifully in open sunny lands, and attains to a height of three or four feet. The Indians use the roots in decoction, for the cure of dysentery, dropsy and asthma. It is also used as an emetic, and held in tolerably high estimation as a medicine in the above cases.

PA-US-KA.—*Like hair.*

Moss.—The bark of the shellbark walnut, especially on the north side, is frequently covered with moss in which the Quapau Indians place the most unshaken confidence in the treatment of catarrhs and asthmas. I know nothing of its value. They give the warm infusion, keeping the patient wrapped up in blankets or buffalo skins.

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NE-LASH-KEE.—(*The name of the tree.*)

Mountain Birch.—This tree is found on the north sides of mountains and cliffs on the Western streams in abundance, and attains to fifty or sixty feet in height. The Indians make use of the inner bark as a remedy in colds, coughs, and diseases of the pulmonary organs. They usually administer it in decoction. Many of the frontier settlers in the Western territories value it very highly as a table beverage.

MOS-CHAR.—*Warming.*

Mountain tea.—This small evergreen thrives only in sterile soils; it is in great repute amongst the Indians both as a sudorific and anodyne in coughs, catarrhs, breast complaints and fevers.

WAH-TON-GA.

The Oak.—Several varieties of the oak are used as medicines by the Indians in bowel complaints, and also as a wash for ulcers.

A-SHEM-BRA.—*To make sleep.*

Paint root, blue.—The plant connected with this article, is found in considerable abundance on the margins of the sterile prairies and on the hills adjacent to Blue Earth and the heading waters of the Kansas and Arkansas rivers. The stalk is solitary, quadrangularly shaped, of a purple color, and grows to the height of about six inches: the leaves resemble those of the catmint, though they are more rough and of a darker color. It blossoms pale blue in July, and has four or five short radicles of a goose quill size, which on account of their coloring properties the Indians collect with great Industry. It forms a tolerably perma-

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nent beautiful blue dye; and as such it is highly prized, and applied to partially stain their faces, and to color various articles used in ornamenting their persons. If much rubbed, when applied to the skin, it produces violent itching and inflammation; if much handled it induces sleep, and it is sometimes given as an opiate in very minute doses.

Paint rood, red. This plant grows on the dry fertile prairies, has rough oval leaves which alternate and are of the size of a half dollar. The flowers are of a purple color, set close to the stock, and appear in July, in the angle formed by the leaf and stem. The root is perennial and replete with an intensely red juice, which the Indians use as a cosmetic for their persons and dresses, and also as emblematic of war, the warriors generally coloring their faces with it, preceding their hostile operations. It is sometimes used as a vermifuge, but is more esteemed in the furniture of the sacred bag, on account of its supposed protecting influence.

NE-WAS-CHAR-LA-GO-NE.—*Good for colds or cough.*

Pipsisseway.—This plant is too generally known among the people of the United States to require any description by me. It is held in considerable esteem by the Indians, and is used as an anodyne and sudorific, especially in diseases of the breast, colds, &c.

HAN-TO-LA.

Prickly Ash.—This is one of the most valuable remedies the Indians possess in the cure of rheumatism. The inner bark taken in substance and the roots boiled in water, to a strong decoction, and drank in large

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draughts four or five times a day as a sudorific, is a very common internal remedy among them. The inner bark seethed in bear's grease, is used externally in form of an embrocation, it is also made into poultices; and in powder applied with advantage to ulcers, as well among the advanced settlers as the Indians. They frequently resort to this remedy; and have great reliance in its efficacy; but I can say nothing of its claims to confidence, from my own experience.

SHU-JEE-HU.—*Red dye or color.*

Puccoon.—The sanguinaria, grows in great abundance in various parts of the Western countries; especially in rich and shaded soils. They hold it in high esteem as a remedy in several of their diseases; but more particularly in rheumatism, for which it is taken in the same manner as the prickly ash. I have known them to use the dry powdered root as an escharotic.

NE-BRA-TA-HEA—*To make drink.*

Rushes.—This plant grows on most of the Western waters. It sometimes attains to a height of six feet, though not commonly to more than three or four feet. It is well known to the frontier settlers, who make much use of it in scrubbing and scouring their furniture, rooms, &c. The Indians also use it in making mats, thatching their lodges, and for wicks in their illuminations, for which it answers an exceedingly good purpose. But as a medicine they esteem it more highly. It operates powerfully as a diuretic, and is a very common remedy in dropsies, menstrual, and syphilitic diseases.

It produces great thirst, and an increased action throughout the system.

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The root is the part used as a medicine; it is given in decoction, in large draughts, three or four times a day.

KEE-CHI-HE-JA-KA—*Gift of the Great Spirit, Sau-kies.*

Sap pine, or healing gum tree of the traders. This tree grows on a cold soil to the height of twenty or thirty feet, and sends off long spreading branches, it is an evergreen of the pine family. On its trunk are numerous small protuberances, which contain a medicinal resinous juice, which is somewhat pungent to the taste and smell. It is held in high estimation, in the treatment of breast complaints and coughs; it is also a favorite remedy for gonorrhœa, and languid ulcers. They give it internally in the three first diseases, and when applied to ulcers, it is spread on thin membranes or skins, and laid over the affected part. It relieves pain, arrests inflammation, reduces the swelling, and disposes the parts to heal. Mr. Spencer, with whom many of my western friends are well acquainted, assured me, that during a trip up the Mississippi to the Red Cedar Lake, he contracted from exposure, an excruciating pain in his limbs and the small of his back, which interrupted his usual avocations. An Indian of the Chippewa tribe, prescribed this medicine in doses of about a common tea-spoon full, three or four times in the course of the day. He also applied a plaister to his loins; and this treatment he declares relieved him in a very short time from all his sufferings. Applied externally to the parts affected, it is said to be an excellent remedy in rheumatism. The Chippewas, Sau-kies and Fox Indians, place so much confidence in this medicine, that they seldom

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travel without it. I know very little about it myself, though its merit in the above named diseases is too well established among the Indians, traders and hunters to be questioned by me.

SA-BAS-SA—*The name of the tree.*

Sarvas tree.—The tree which bears this name in the western country, is among the earliest, except the dog-wood, to adorn the forests with its beautiful white blossoms—its fruit, which is a small red berry growing in clusters, ripens about the first of June; and is well known in this country.

The bark of the roots is the part used by the Indians with considerable effect, as a remedy in various diseases of the order profluvia. Dr. Jones of Kentucky used it, he says in the form of infusion, with the most decided advantage, in several diseases of that order; and seems to think its reputation among the Indians is justly merited.

SHI-KEE.—*Name of the tree.*

Sassafras.—The Indians make a drink of the young blossoms and bark from the roots of sassafras in the spring of the year. The bruised leaves are applied as poultices, and are deservedly prized. The pith or medullary part of the sprouts steeped in cold water, forms a wash for sore eyes; but I know nothing of its merits. They smoke the dried bark of the root and prize it very highly.

AG-GA-SHU.—*Short crooks.*

Seneca Snake root.—This plant grows in considerable abundance in various parts of the Western territories; it is much used by the Indians; is well known

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in this country, and therefore requires no description. They make use of it in cold infusions, during the remission of fevers, which are attended with great prostration of strength, and in diseases of the pulmonary organs.

They also give it warm, in combination with various other drugs, with a view to promote the sweating process, or to discharge the collections of mucus from the trachea and lungs.

They esteem it very highly in their female complaints, and also in diseases of their children when threre is great difficulty of breathing.

HON-KOS-KAO-GA-SHA.—*It won't go down.*

Slippery Elm.—This tree is too well known in this country, to require any description from me. It grows in considerable abundance on the western waters and in other rich lands. The inner bark is the part used. In colds and bowel complaints its properties as a demulcent are considered valuable; it is also much used as a cataplasm or emollient in ulcers and swellings. But though it may deserve some reputation as an article of medicine its greatest value consists in its nutritive qualities. I have subsisted for days on it, while traveling through the country of unfriendly tribes. The elm bark will support life for a great length of time; uncombined with animal food it produces sourness in the stomach and eructations.

SA-WAH-JA-RA.—*Cure for bite of snake.*

Snake Bite.—Of the Indians is an annual plant, grows in hilly countries, attains a height of about two feet, stock single, leaves resembling those of the wa-

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ter-melon, and supported by long foot stalks; it flowers in July. The whole is made into an infusion, and given warm in large quantities to such as may have been bitten by the rattlesnake.

On such occurrences the Indians frequently suck out the poison, taking care to wash the mouth frequently with water, and to chew tobacco. Excision and subsequent cauterization of the parts is however their most common practice, not only for this, but for obstinate ulcerous affections.

IIN-NE-SE-GA.—*Astringent taste.*

Sour Wood.—This tree attains to the height of twenty or thirty feet, and is in diameter about six or eight inches. It never grows on fertile land, but is a certain indication to that of an opposite character. The leaves constitute an ingredient in the celebrated mixture for dropsy.

They seldom, if ever, administer it alone; from which circumstance I suppose its powers, as a remedy, to be rather feeble. The Quaupau Indians collect the leaves for the use of the pipe, and value the young sprouts for arrows.

TU-TUS-SE-GA-O-GA-SHE.—*To expel wind.*

Spikenard.—This spikenard is one of the most luxuriant of the forest plants: it grows in the beds of hollows in hilly districts in great abundance, and if it possesses half the virtues ascribed to it by the Shawanee Indians, it merits a high rank in the materia medica. They give it with a view to expel wind from the stomach; to stop coughs and to relieve pain in the breast and asthma.

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ME-KA-A.—*The flowers resemble the stars.*

Starflower.—This plant grows in great abundance in the Arkansas and many other parts of the Western country. It spreads from the root into many branches, which rise to two or three feet in height, and expand in August or September into beautiful purple flowers, of a stellated figure: from which circumstance the Indians call it Me-ka-a, or Star Weed. The whole plant is sometimes used, but more commonly the leaves and flowers, in form of infusion, as a sweat in acute diseases.

KIN-NE-NE-KAH.—*Arbitrary name.*

Sumac.—The roots and leaves of the sumac are used by the Indians in several of their diseases, but more especially as an ingredient in their favorite composition for the cure of dropsy. They consider it a principal article, next to tobacco, in the stores for the pipe; mixed with about an equal part of tobacco, it forms one of their most fashionable treats.

NES-NI-NE-SHU-KA-AH.—*The salt water runs.*

Sweating.—Among all the various Indian nations with which I am acquaited, sweating constitutes one of their principal remedis, and amongst some of them like bathing, it is practiced for the pleasurable sensations which it produces. Various means are resorted to for the attainment of this object. Some effect it by drinking warm iufusions; others assist these means by enwrapping themselves in blankets or skins, while a majority have separate apartments prepared for the purpose of procuring it by exposure to the steam of water. For this, a house sufficient in size to contain

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one, two or more persons is constructed of sticks or logs; commonly on the sloping side of a hill, and convenient to water. An excavation is next made in the earth flooring in which they place heated rocks. The bath thus prepared, the patient closes himself in, and pours water on the rocks till the apartment is filled with steam, and the intended effect produced. Herbs and roots of various kinds are placed on the rocks, with a view that their virtues may unite and ascend with the vapor. During the process, the patient drinks freely of the infusion of ditanny, mountain tea, or other herbs. He remains in as long as the heated rocks retain warmth sufficient to produce vapor. When he leaves it, he wraps himself in a buffalo robe or blanket, and immediately if able, repairs to his house, and if not, he is assisted and goes to bed. I have frequently known them to remain in until they became quite faint. When this bath is used as a luxury, they frequently on leaving it, plunge into cold water; and I have never witnessed any dangerous or ill effects to arise from the practice.

Some tribes resort to another expedient to induce sweating. They make a hole in the ground of a size and depth sufficient to contain the body of the person wishing to undergo the operation. They continue a fire in it till it becomes quite heated. The patient wrapped in his blanket or robe, stands over the excavation, water is poured in it, and the steam rises between his body and its envelop; while others again immerse themselves in the water.

They also produce sweating by covering themselves in the hot sands of the barrens, and I believe with much advantage in some cases.

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NO-NE-AW.—*Tobacco.*

Tobacco.—The estimation in which this plant is held as a luxury, is too generally understood to need any account in this place. The Indians use it in three different ways; in decoction, with the chips of the water-oak as a discutient, in abscesses, gatherings, and other local inflammations. The leaves are laid warm over the part affected, and kept continually moist by occasionally adding the infusion to them. They also apply the dried leaf to ulcers, especially of long standing: and another preparation is, to steep the leaves in bear's grease, and use it as an embrocation to swellings, cutaneous and eruptive diseases. They frequently use it externally in the cure of dropsies, and apply it as a vermifuge to the abdomen of their children. Indeed I have witnessed some of the most alarming symptoms from its exhibition in this way; such as nausea, vomiting, vertigo, great prostration of strength, and every appearance of death: though I do not know a case that has terminated in that way.

ES-PE-TON-GA.—*Poplar tree.*

Tulip tree.—This towering tree is one of the greatest ornaments in the western forests, and frequently attains to a height of one hundred and fifty feet. The bark of the root, and the green seed ball which is extremely bitter are the parts mostly used by the Indians. An infusion of the root-bark is freely taken as a preventive to fevers of the intermitting type, and the seed balls are given to their children to destroy worms. I do not know what confidence it deserves in either respect.

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SOO-KE-HE-AH.—*Young turkies' feed.*

Turkey pea.—There are too highly nutritive articles bearing this name, which grow in the Western country in great abundance, but which are entirely different in character from the one now under consideration. One variety is however called by the graziers on the frontiers, Pea vine, which from its great abundance and nutritive properties constitute a highly valuable grazing article. The other has a single stock, grows to the height of eight or ten inches, and bears a small pod. It is found in rich loose soils, appears amongst the first plants in the spring, and produces on the root small tubers of the size of a hazle nut, on which the turkies feed. The Indians are fond of and collect them in considerable quantities. I mention these facts to avoid misunderstanding; because these different vegetables bear the same name indiscriminately. But the substance now under notice grows to a foot or foot and a half in height, and adorns the borders of the prairies, where in July, it almost uniformly bears a great profusion of beautiful blossoms, which are white, fringed with red on their margins. These are subsequently followed by a luxuriant crop of small peas, of wich the wild turkies are extremely fond, from whence their name. The roots are much valued as a medicine by the Osage, Kansas, and Pawnee Indians. They give it in the form of tea and in substance principally with a view to destroy worms.

PA-US-KA-ION-GA.—*Like horse hairs.*

Virginia Snake root.—The Indians prescribe this article in warm infusion, to procure sweating, and in

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cold, three or four times a day, as a tonic in cases of debility.

SE-IN-JA-SHU.—*A little squirrel's ear.*

White plantain.—This is a small ever-green plant, growing abundantly on the southern exposures of gravelly hills, and on poor lands. The Indians have great confidence in it for the cure of coughs, colds, and fevers. With this intention they give it in infusion. They also apply the bruised plant in its recent state externally to inflamed parts.

SHA-GA-HIN-GAH.—*Little fingers.*

Wild Cucumber tree.—This tree grows in the rich valleys in the broken parts of the country situated on the Osage, Kansas, and Missouri rivers. Some Indians call it chawpesha, from its intense bitterness, and the very unpleasant sensation it produces in the mouth. They make use of the fruit and bark in decoction as a vermifuge.

E-HAW-NES-NI.—*Water comes in the mouth.*

Wild ginger is a plant found in all parts of the Western territories. The Indian women esteem it highly as an emmenagogue; it is also sometimes taken as an abortive. Taken into the stomach it is apt to produce pyrosis, or the water brash, and nausea. The Indians apply it externally to recent wounds to prevent their bleeding; but I am unacquaited with its merits in this as well as in other respects.

SON-JA-PE-GA.—*Light black dust.*

Wood soot.—This is very often given in form of infusion or tea to their children, in cases of griping and bowel complaints.

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SE-A-HIN-GA.—*From its extreme tenderness.*

Yellow root.—This is one of the first plants which makes its appearance in the spring. It grows on the alluvians of the western waters, to the height of six or eight inches, and bears a single rough sinuately lobed leaf; not unlike that of the grape vine. The flower stalk rises simultaneously with the leaf stalk, grows something higher, and resembles that of the *Puccoon*, (Sanguinaria canadensis), except that its color is of a pale yellow.

The roots of this plant contain from three to five small tuberous enlargements of about the size of a hazle-nut, which are replete with a most brilliant golden colored acrid juice. They lose nearly three-fourths of their size by drying, and the acidity of their taste becomes very much increased. From its early appearance in the spring and the utility of this plant I am persuaded it would be a valuable addition to the gardens of this country.

The Yellow-root, readily imparts its coloring matter to any liquid, forming the most beautiful tincture. I have been tedious in describing this plant, because I have never heard of its being noticed by any other person. As a generally efficient remedy the Indians use a cold watery infusion for sore eyes, which is a very common disease in autumn, when from accident or design, the dry leaves of the forests or prairie grass, take fire and vitiate the atmosphere with smoke. The powdered root is also used as an escharotic, and I believe with considerable propriety, as it has been in high repute among the Indians for a great length of

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time; and they seldom retain the use of any remedy which does not prove of manifest advantage.

The Indians use a warm infusion much diluted in dropsy, from which circumstance, I suppose it to possesses some diuretic properties; though I can say nothing as to the fact. I believe it has some claims as a stimulant or tonic.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIAN PRACTICE OF SURGERY AND MEDICINE.

The Indians are aware that both respiration and the circulation of the blood are essential to life, they also know that the former is performed by the lungs and the latter through the heart and blood vessels; though they do not understand the peculiar manner in which these organs perform those functions. And what is of much practical importance to their success in taking game, and aiming at their enemies, they are well acquainted with their situation, and with parts, which if wounded, are likely to prove mortal. They know that the brain is essential to life, and believe that it is the organ of thought. They seldom have any call for the exercise of surgical skill, and when they do, they in general display great want of experience; though I have known them to stop hemorrhages which I am persuaded would otherwise have proved fatal. Spitting of blood is a frequent occurrence in long marches, and more especially when they are pursued by enemies; and their retreat is over districts of country badly supplied with water. In such cases they chew

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the astringent root and swallow its juice as they run. The warriors usually carry it with them, but when without, they are compelled to seek it. It is an excellent remedy and generally succeeds in stopping the discharge.

They sometimes experience troublesome bleedings from wounds and other causes, which they manage to arrest with the fleshy scrapings obtained in dressing skins, moss, or the hair of various animals bandaged to the parts affected. They understand the importance of blood-letting in cases of local pains, fevers and inflammations; and perform the operation in the arm, and foot with flint stones, pointed bones or knives, having previously applied a ligature as is the common practice amongst the surgeons of the schools. They seldom let blood in any considerable quantity, and never, that I know of, until fainting is induced; when they stop the blood they secure the orifice with a piece of soft skin, and bind up the part by a bandage. In wounds where matter is collected they suck and spirt water into them with the mouth; and I believe with very great benefit. They seldom have troublesome or difficult ulcers to heal, except where their constitutions are impaired by intemperance and debauchery; misfortunes which do sometimes occur, since the introduction of ardent spirits among them. They remove the fungous parts, either by escharotics or cautery. They say "that a burn will get well of itself, while an old sore is exceedingly difficult to cure."

They are acquainted with the advantage of relaxing the muscles in dislocations; for in cases where they do not readily succeed, they nauseate the patient to a

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most distressing degree, and then find very little difficulty in replacing a luxated bone.

When a ball simply lodges beneath the integuments, they extract it with the point of the scalping knife or the handle of their bullet moulds, which from its shape, is the better qualified of the two. When however the ball is lodged more deeply, or has penetrated in a circuitous direction, it is permitted to come out by the slower process of suppuration; or to remain within a sac naturally formed by the surrounding muscular integuments. When it is desirable to extract a ball, they introduce a piece of the slippery elm bark as far into the wound as is practicable, which is suffered to remain, till the sought for object is obtained, or no danger is likely to result by suffering it to remain. They also make incisions with the knife on the surface, whenever it heals too fast for the more deep seated parts of the wound. The slippery elm bark beaten to a pulp and applied to the wounded part, is the usual remedy among the Osages for the extraction of a ball, thorn, &c.; they sometimes apply the pounded roots of the gall of the earth plant to wounds, inflammation generally follows, and the foreign body is easily extracted.

Plaisters of the resin of the sap-pine are applied to frosted members, with decided advantage.

They sometimes relieve inward pains by setting a piece of touch-wood on fire, and permitting it to produce a blister over the pained part. They say "that such treatment draws the enemy from his lurking place, and exposes him to a direct attack."

I have known several who died from wounds re-

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ceived in battle; they complain of continual thirst; one in particular, a brave warrior of the Osage tribe, named Pau-ton-ga or the Great Snow, had received a wound in his thigh, in an engagement with the Pawnees; he suffered every symptom of what I now understand by the locked jaw, and expired about the seventh day. The attack was slight at first, and excited, as well as I can recollect, very little uneasiness at the time The physicians applied ley and skins of warm wet laurel ashes to the part, but were not able to procure much discharge, which they looked upon as essential to effect a cure; other cases of the kind may have occurred among them, but not within my knowledge. Having no favorite theories to support, they depend chiefly on experience in the application of their remedies, this being exhausted without procuring the desired relief, they dispute every inch of ground with the grim monster, by resorting to experiments, incantations, charms, dreams, &c.

I once saw an Indian choked. This was from swallowing a plum, which was brought back by efforts to vomit, produced by thrusting a turkey's feather down his throat; a considerable quantity of frothy mucus tinged with blood, was brought up with it and the person recovered.

The Indians are not very liable to swellings, tumors or boils; when they do occur they are generally suffered to come to a crisis without any application to them, when very much inflamed, they apply cooling plaisters of bruised herbs, or fomenting warm poultices. When the color of the parts changes and the collection of matter is evident, they make an incision, and continue the poultices to promote a discharge.

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Among the Osages I have known two cases of what I now suppose to have been white swellings, neither subject was more than fifteen years of age. One was of the knee, and the other on the ankle joint. They were treated with poultices.

Affections of the eyes sometimes occur, but I have never known them to attempt cures by any manual operations. When highly inflamed, they blow decrepitated salt into them, but whether this treatment is productive of any benefit I am unable to say. The more mild cases, readily yield to their simple applications.

The Indians commence the cure of most of their acute diseases by an emetic, by bleeding, purging, and sweating, the last of which is by far the most common.

In their treatment of fevers, they puke the patient at first and then while it is on, give him freely of sweating teas, and warm drinks; and when the fever is perfectly off and at no other time, they give bitters; and other tonic medicines in considerable quantities to prevent its return.

Pleurisy.—They bleed in pleurisy, fill skins with hot ashes and apply them over the pained parts, and sweat most violently. Whenever the patient begins to sweat freely, the hard breathing and pain in the side abate, and when the discharge of mucus from the mouth commences, they say he is out of danger.

Cholera morbus.—In this disease they resort to the steam bath and cathartics, after which they give copiously of a gruel made from wild rice, and wild liquorice tea. They also apply fomentations to the stomach.

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Dropsy.—The Indians are more subject to this disease since the introduction of ardent spirits amongst them than they formerly were, and also have more remedies for it than for any other disease, probably, from the uncertainty which attends their operation. An infusion of the white flowering vine (Che-za-hau) is among their most valuable and active remedies. A combination of wild cherry bark, sumac roots and leaves, black haw, sour wood leaves, and a mineral substance collected from the banks of rivers in decoction, given in cold large doses three or four times a day, is also a remedy in high repute amongst them. Powdered shells and burnt bones, mixed with bitter barks and herbs is another remedy. They also apply the leaves of tobacco, steeped in a strong decoction of the chips of water oak (Quercus lyrata) warm to the patient, and keep them moist by the infusion. The effects are nausea, vomiting, and great prostration of strength.

Rheumatism.—This disease from its frequency and violence, has induced the Indians to seek a great variety of remedies, the principal of which are bleeding, steam bathing, warm infusions, fomentings, sweating, frictions, unctions, &c.

They are generally successful in relieving acute cases, and even the chronic ones sometimes yield to their remedies, but they are very liable to return.

Diarrhœa.—For this disease they puke, sweat, and give astringents: when long continuance has induced great debility, they give frequent and large draughts of bitter infusions. I have frequently known them to cure it by chewing the inner bark of the burr oak.

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WHITE JOHN—AN OTTAWA CHIEF.

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ANECDOTES OF THE INDIANS.

WIT.

An Ottaway chief, known to the French by the name of *Whitejohn*, was a great drunkard. Count *Frontenac* asked him what he thought brandy to be made of; he replied, that it must be made hearts and tongues—"For," said he, "when I have drunken plentifully of it, my heart is a thousand strong, and I can talk, too, with astonishing freedom and rapidity."

HONOR.

A chief of the Five Nations, who fought on the side of the English in the French wars, chanced to meet in battle his own father, who was fighting on the side of the French. Just as he was about to deal a deadly blow upon his head, he discovered who he was, and said to him, "You have once given me life, and now I give it to you. Let me meet you no more; for I have paid the debt I owed you."

RECKLESSNESS.

In Connecticut River, about "200 miles from Long Island Sound, is a narrow of 5 yards only, formed by two shelving mountains of solid rock. Through this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters which in the time of floods bury the northern country." It is a frightful passage of about 400 yards in length. No

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boat, or, as my author expresses it, "no living creature, was ever known to pass through this narrow, except an Indian woman." This woman had undertaken to cross the river just above, and although she had the god Bacchus by her side, yet Neptune prevailed in spite of their united efforts, and the canoe was hurried down the frightful gulf. While this Indian woman was hurrying to certain destruction, as she had every reason to expect, she seized upon her bottle of rum, and did not take it from her mouth until the last drop was quaffed. She was marvelously preserved, and was actually picked up several miles below, floating in the canoe, still quite drunk. When it was known what she had done, and being asked how she dared to drink so much rum with the prospect of certain death before her, she answered that she knew it was too much for one time, but she was unwilling that any of it should be lost.

JUSTICE.

A missionary residing among a certain tribe of Indians, was one day, after he had been preaching to them, invited by their chief to visit his wigwam. After having been kindly entertained, and being about to depart, the chief took him by the hand and said, "I have very bad squaw. She had two little children. One she loved well, the other she hated. In a cold night, when I was gone hunting in the woods, she shut it out of the wigwam, and it froze to death. What must be done with her?" The missionary replied, "She must be hanged." "Ah!" said the chief, "go, then, and hang your God, whom you make just like her."

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MAGNANIMITY.

A hunter, in his wanderings for game, fell among the back settlements of Virginia, and by reason of the inclemency of the weather, was induced to seek refuge at the house of a planter, whom he met at his door. Admission was refused him. Being both hungry and thirsty, he asked for a morsel of bread and a cup of water, but was answered in every case, "No! you shall have nothing here! *Get you gone, you Indian dog!*" It happened, in process of time, that this same planter lost himself in the woods, and, after a fatiguing day's travel, he came to an Indian's cabin, into which he was welcomed. On inquiring the way, and the distance to the white settlements, being told by the Indian that he could not go in the night, and being kindly offered lodging and victuals, he gladly refreshed and reposed himself in the Indian's cabin. In the morning, he conducted him through the wilderness, agreeably to his promise the night before, until they came in sight of the habitations of the whites. As he was about to take his leave of the planter, he looked him full in the face, and asked him if he did not know him. Horror-struck at finding himself thus in the power of a man he had so inhumanly treated, and dumb with shame on thinking of the manner it was requited, he began at length to make excuses, and beg a thousand pardons, when the Indian interrupted him, and said, "When you see poor Indians fainting for a cup of cold water, don't say again, 'Get you gone, you Indian dog!'" He then dismissed him to return to his friends. My author adds, "It is not difficult to

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say which of these two had the best claim to the name of Christian."

DECEPTION.

The captain of a vessel, having a desire to make a present to a lady of some fine oranges which he had just brought from "the sugar islands," gave them to an Indian in his employ to carry to her. Lest he should not perform the office punctually, he wrote a letter to her, to be taken along with the present, that she might detect the bearer, if he should fail to deliver the whole of what he was intrusted with. The Indian, during the journey, reflected how he should refresh himself with the oranges, and not be found out. Not having any apprehension of the manner of communication by writing, he concluded that it was only necessary to keep his design secret from the letter itself, supposing that would tell of him if he did not; he therefore laid it upon the ground, and rolled a large stone upon it, and retired to some distance, where he regaled himself with several of the oranges, and then proceeded on his journey. On delivering the remainder and the letter to the lady, she asked him where the rest of the oranges were; he said he had delivered all; she told him that the letter said there were several more sent; to which he answered that the letter lied, and she must not believe it. But he was soon confronted in his falsehood, and, begging forgiveness of the offence was pardoned.

SHREWDNESS.

As Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts was superintending some of his workmen, he took notice

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of an able-bodied Indian, who, half-naked, would come and look on, as a pastime, to see his men work. The governer took occasion one day to ask him *why he did not work and get some clothes, wherewith to cover himself.* The Indian answered by asking him *why he did not work.* The governor, pointing wih his finger to his head, said, "*I work head work*, and so have no need to work with my hands as you should." The Indian then said he would work if any one would employ him. The governor told him he wanted a calf killed, and that, if he would go and do it, he would give him a shilling. He accepted the offer, and went immediately and killed the calf, and then went sauntering about as before. The governor, on observing what he had done, asked him why he did not dress the calf before he left it. The Indian answered, "*No, no, Coponoh;* that was not in the bargain: I was to have a shilling for killing him. *Am he not dead, Coponoh?*" [governor.] The governor, seeing himself thus outwitted, told him to dress it, and he would give him another shilling.

This done, and in possession of two shillings, the Indian goes directly to a grog-shop for rum. After a short stay, he returned to the governor, and told him he had given him a bad shilling-piece, and presented a brass one to be exchanged. The governor, thinking possibly it might have been the case, gave him another. It was not long before he returned a second time with another brass shilling to be exchanged; the governor was now convinced of his knavery, but, not caring to make words at the time, gave him another; and thus the fellow got four shillings for one.

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The governer determined to have the rogue corrected for his abuse, and, meeting with him soon after, told him he must take a letter to Boston for him [and gave him a half a crown for his service.] The letter was directed to the keeper of bridewell, ordering him to give the bearer so many lashes; but, mistrusting that all was not exactly agreeable, and meeting a servant of the governor on the road, ordered him, in the name of his master, to carry the letter immediately, as he was in haste to return. The consequence was, this servant got egregiously whipped. When the governor learned what had taken place, he felt no little chagrin at being thus twice outwitted by the Indian.

He did not see the fellow for some time after this, but at length, falling in with him, asked him by what means he had cheated and deceived him so many times. Taking the governor again in his own play, he answered, pointing with his finger to his head, "*Head work, Coponoh, head work!*" The governor was now so well pleased that he forgave the whole offence.

EQUALITY.

An Indian chief, on being asked whether his people were free, answered, "Why not, since I myself am free, although their king?"

MATRIMONY.

"An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much time among the white people, both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day, about the year 1770, observed that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but a more certain way of getting a good one. 'For,' said he in

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broken English, 'white man court—court—may be one whole year!—may be two years before he marry! Well—may be then he get a very good wife—but may be not—may be very cross! Well, now suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in the morning! scold until sleep!—all one—he must keep him!—White people have law forbidding him throw away wife, he be ever so cross—must keep him always! Well, how does Indian do? Indian, when he see industrious squaw, he go to him, place his two fore-fingers close aside each other, make two like one—then look squaw in the face—see him smile—this is all one he say yes! —so he take him home—no danger he be cross! No, no—squaw know too well what Indian do if he be cross! throw him away and take another!—Squaw love to eat meat—no husband no meat. Squaw do every thing to please husband, he do every thing to please squaw—live happy.'"

TOLERATION.

In the year 1791, two Creek chiefs accompanied an American to England, where, as usual, they attracted great attention, and many flocked around them, as well to learn their ideas of certain things as to behold "the savages." Being asked their opinion of religion, or of what religion they were, one made answer, that they had no priests in their country, or established religion, for they thought, that upon a subject where there was no possibility of people's agreeing in opinion, and as it was altogether matter of *mere* opinion, "it was best that every one should paddle his canoe his own way." Here is a volume of instruction in a short answer of a savage!

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JUSTICE.

A white trader sold a quantity of powder to an Indian, and imposed upon him by making him believe it was a grain which grew like wheat, by sowing it upon the ground. He was greatly elated by the prospect, not only of raising his own powder, but of being able to supply others, and thereby becoming immensely rich. Having prepared his ground with great care, he sowed his powder with the utmost exactness in the spring. Month after month passed away, but his powder did not even sprout, and winter came before he was satisfied that he had been deceived. He said nothing; but some time after, when the trader had forgotten the trick, the same Indian succeeded in getting credit of him to a large amount. The time set for payment having expired, he sought out the Indian at his residence, and demanded payment for his goods. The Indian heard his demand with great complaisance; then, looking him shrewdly in the eye, said, "*Me pay you when my powder grow.*" This was enough. The guilty white man quickly retraced his steps, satisfied, we apprehend, to balance his account with the chagrin he had received.

HUNTING.

The Indians had methods to catch game which served them extremely well. The same month in which the Mayflower brought over the forefathers, November, 1620, to the shores of Plymouth, several of them ranged about the woods near by to learn what the country contained. Having wandered farther than they were apprized, in their endeavor to return,

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they say, "We were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered, we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So, as we looked at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looking also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught up by the legs. It was (they continue) a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, (of bark or some kind of roots probably,) and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us."

PREACHING AGAINST PRACTICE.

John Simon was a Sogkonate, who, about the year 1700, was a settled minister to that tribe. He was a man of strong mind, generally temperate, but sometimes remiss in the latter particular. The following anecdote is told as characteristic of his notions of justice. Simon, on account of his deportment, was created justice of the peace, and when difficulties occurred involving any of his people, he sat with the English justice to aid in making up judgment. It happened that Simon's squaw, with some others, had committed some offence. Justice Almy and Simon, in making up their minds, estimated the amount of the offence differently; Almy thought each should receive *eight* or *ten* stripes, but Simon said, "No, *four* or *five* are enough—Poor Indians are ignorant, and it is not Christian-like to punish so hardly those who are ignorant, as those who have knowledge." Simon's judg-

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SAM HIDE.

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ment prevailed. When Mr. Almy asked John how many his wife should receive, he said, "Double, because she had knowledge to have done better;" but Colonel Almy, out of regard to John's feelings, wholly remitted his wife's punishment. John looked very serious, and made no reply while in presence of the court, but, on the first fit opportunity, remonstrated very severely against his judgment, and said to him, "*To what purpose do we preach a religion of justice, if we do unrighteousness in judgment?*"

SAM HIDE.

There are few, we imagine, who have not heard of this personage, but, notwithstanding his great notoriety, we might not be thought serious in the rest of our work, were we to enter seriously into his biography; for the reason, that from his day to this, his name has been a by-word in all New England, and means as much as to say the *greatest of liars*. It is on account of the following anecdote that he is noticed.

Sam Hide was a notorious cider-drinker as well as liar, and used to travel the country to and fro begging it from door to door. At one time he happened in a region of country where cider was very hard to be procured, either from its scarcity, or from Sam's frequent visits. However, cider he was determined to have if lying, in any shape or color, would gain it. Being not far from the house of an acquaintance, who he knew had cider, but he knew, or was well satisfied, that, in the ordinary way of begging, he could not get it, he set his wits at work to lay a plan to insure it. This did not occupy him long. On arriving at the house of the gentleman, instead of asking for cider,

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he inquired for the man of the house, whom, on appearing, Sam requested to go aside with him, as he had something of importance to communicate to him. When they were by themselves, Sam told him he had that morning shot a fine deer, and that, if he would give him a crown, he would tell him where it was. The gentleman did not incline to do this, but offered half a crown. Finally, Sam said, as he had walked a great distance that morning, and was very dry, for a half a crown and a mug of cider he would tell him. This was agreed upon, and the price paid. Now Sam was required to point out the spot where the deer was to be found, which he did in this manner. He said to his friend, *You know of such a meadow*, describing it—Yes—*You know a big ash tree, with a big top by the lit'le brook*—Yes—*Well, under that tree lies the deer.* This was satisfactory and Sam departed. It is unnecessary to mention that the meadow was found, and the tree by the brook, but no deer. The duped man could hardly contain himself on considering what he had been doing. To look after Sam for satisfaction would be worse than looking after the deer, so the farmer concluded to go home contented.

Some years after, he happened to fall in with the Indian; and he immediately began to rally him for deceiving him so, and demanded back his money and pay for his cider and trouble. *Why*, said Sam, *would you find fault if Indian told truth half the time?*—No—*Well*, says Sam, *you find him meadow?*—Yes—*You find him tree?*—Yes—*What for then you find fault* Sam Hide, *when he told you two truth to one lie?*

The affair ended here. Sam heard no more from the farmer

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This is but one of the numerous anecdotes of Sam Hide, which, could they be collected, would fill many pages. He died in Dedham, January 5, 1732, at the age of 105 years. He was a great jester, and passed for an uncommon wit. In all the wars against the Indians during his lifetime, he served the English faithfully, and had the name of a brave soldier. He had himself killed 19 of the enemy, and tried hard to make up the 20th, but was unable.

CHARACTERS CONTRASTED.

"An Indian of the Kennebeck tribe, remarkable for his good conduct, received a grant of land from the state, and fixed himself in a new township where a number of families were settled. Though not ill treated, yet the common prejudice against Indians prevented any sympathy with him. This was shown at the death of his only child, when none of the people came near him. Shortly afterwards he went to some of the inhabitants and said to them, "When white man's child die, Indian man he sorry—he help bury him. When my child die, no one speak to me—I make his grave alone. I can no live here." He gave up his farm, dug up the body of his child, and carried it with him 200 miles through the forests, to join the Canada Indians!"

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A LUDICROUS ERROR.

There was published in London, in 1762, "THE AMERICAN GAZETTEER," &c., in which is the following account of Bristol, R. I. "A county town in N. England. The capital is remarkable for the King of Spain's having a palace in it, and being killed there; and also for Crown the poet's begging it of Charles II." The blunder did not rest here, but is found in "THE N. AMERICAN and the WEST INDIAN GAZETTEER," &c. Thus Philip of Spain seems to have had the misfortune of being mistaken for Philip of the Wampanoags, alias Pometacom of Pokanoket.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME YANKEE.

ANBURY, an author who did not respect the Americans, any more than many others who have been led captive by them, has the following paragraph upon this word--"The lower class of these Yankees—apropos, it may not be amiss here just to observe to you the etymology of this term: it is derived from a Cherokee word, *eankke*, which signifies coward and slave. This epithet of *yankee* was bestowed upon the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians, for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees, and they have always been held in derision by it. But the name has been more prevalent since [1775] the commencement of hostilities; the soldiery at Boston used it as a term of reproach; but after the affair at Bunker's Hill, the Americans gloried in it. *Yankee-doodle* is now their pæan, a favorite of favorites, played in their army, esteemed as warlike as the grenadier's march—it is the lover's spell, the nurse's lullaby. After our rapid successes, we held the yankees in great con-

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tempt; it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune, when their army marched down to our surrender."

But Mr. Heckewelder thinks that the Indians, in endeavoring to pronounce the name *English*, could get that sound no nearer than these letters give it, *yengees*. This was perhaps the true origin of *Yankee*.

A SINGULAR STRATAGEM TO ESCAPE TORTURE.

"Some years ago the Shawano Indians, being obliged to remove from their habitations, in their way they took a Muskohge warrior, known by the name of old Scrany, prisoner; they bastinadoed him severely, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal without showing any concern, his countenance and behavior were as if he suffered not the least pain. He told his persecutors with a bold voice, that he was a warrior; that he had gained most of his martial reputation at the expense of their nation, and was desirous of showing them, in the act of dying, that he was still as much their superior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen: that although he had fallen into their hands, and forfeited the protection of divine power by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies, yet he had so much remaining virtue as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable, ignorant crowd possibly could; and that he would do so, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and handing him one of the red-hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon,

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that his request was granted. Then suddenly seizing one end of the red-hot barrel, and brandishing it from side to side, leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed the other branch, amidst a shower of bullets; and though numbers of his enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got into a bramble-swamp, through which, though naked and in a mangled condition, he reached his own country."

AN UNPARALLELED CASE OF SUFFERING.

"The Shawano Indians captured a warrior of the Anantoocah nation, and put him to the stake, according to their usual cruel solemnities: having unconcernedly suffered much torture, he told them, with scorn, they did not know how to punish a noted enemy; therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his assertion if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requested of them a pipe and some tobacco, which was given him; as soon as he had lighted it, he sat down, naked as he was, on the women's burning torches, that were within his circle, and continued smoking his pipe without the least discomposure. On this a head warrior leaped up, and said, they saw plain enough that he was a warrrior, and not afraid of dying, nor should he have died, only that he was both spoiled by the fire, and devoted to it by their laws; however, though he was a very dangerous enemy, and his nation a treacherous people, it should be seen that they paid a regard to bravery, even in one who was marked with war streaks at the cost of many of the lives of their beloved kindred;

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and then by way of favor, he with his friendly tomahawk instantly put an end to all his pains."

IGNORANCE THE OFFSPRING OF ABSURD OPINIONS.

"The resolution and courage of the Indians," says Colonel Rogers, "under sickness and pain, is truly surprising. A young woman will be in labor a whole day with out uttering one groan or cry should she betray such a weakness, they would immediately say, that she was unworthy to be a mother, and that her offspring could not fail of being cowards."

A NORTHERN CUSTOM.

When Mr. Hearne was on the Coppermine River, in 1771, some of the Copper Indians in his company killed a number of Esquimaux, by which act they considered themselves unclean; and all concerned in the murder were not allowed to cook any provisions, either for themselves or others. They were, however, allowed to eat of others' cooking, but not until they had painted, with a kind of red earth, all the space between their nose and chin, as well as a greater part of their cheeks, almost to their ears. Neither would they use any other dish or pipe, than their own.

ANOTHER POCAHONTAS.

While Lewis and Clark were on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, in 1805, one of their men went one evening into a village of the Killamuk Indians, alone, a small distance from his party, and on the opposite side of a creek from that of the encampment. A strange Indian happened to be there also, who expressed great respect and love for the white man; but in reality he meant to murder him for the articles

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he had about him. This happened to come to the knowledge of a Chinnock woman, and she determined at once to save his life; therefore, when the white man was about to return to his companions, the Indian was going to accompany him, and kill him on the way. As they were about to set out, the woman caught the white man by the clothes, to prevent his going with the Indian. He, not understanding her intention, pulled away from her; but as a last resort, she run out and shrieked, which raised the men in every direction; and the Indian became alarmed for his own safety, and made his escape before the white man knew he had been in danger.

SELF-COMMAND IN TIME OF DANGER.

There was in Carolina a noted chief of the Yamoisees, who, in the year 1702, with about 600 of his countrymen, went with Colonel Daniel and Colonel Moore against the Spaniards in Florida. His name was Arratommakaw. When the English were obliged to abandon their undertaking, and as they were retreating to their boats, they became alarmed, supposing the Spaniards were upon them. Arratommakaw, having arrived at the boats, was reposing himself upon his oars, and was fast asleep. The soldiers rallied him for being so slow in his retreat, and ordered him to make more haste: "But he replied, 'No—*though your governor leaves you, I will not stir till I have seen all my men before me.*'"

INDIFFERENCE.

Archihau was a sachem of Maryland, whose residence was upon the Potomac, when that country was

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settled by the English in 1633–4. The place of his residence was named like the river, Potomac. As usual with the Indians, he received the English under Governor Calvert with great attention. It should be noted, that Archihau was not head sachem of the Potomacs, but governed instead of his nephew, who was a child, and who, like the head men of Virginia, was called *werowance*. From this place the colonists sailed 20 leagues farther up the river, to a place called Piscataway. Here a werowance went on board the governor's pinnace, to treat with him. On being asked whether he was willing the English should settle in his country, in case they found a place convenient for them, he made answer, "*I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay, but you may use your own discretion.*"

THEIR NOTIONS OF THE LEARNING OF THE WHITES.

At the congress at Lancaster, in 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Five Nations, the Indians were told that, if they would send some of their young men to Virginia, the English would give them an education at their college. An orator replied to this offer as follows:—"We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know, that different nations have different conceptoins of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind

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of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it: several of our young people were formerly brought up at colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it: and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make *men* of them."

SUCCESS OF A MISSIONARY.

Those who have attempted to Christianize the Indians complain that they are too silent, and that their taciturnity was the greatest difficulty with which they have to contend. Their notions of propriety upon matters of conversation are so nice, that they deem it improper, in the highest degree, even to deny or contradict any thing that is said, at the time; and hence the difficulty of knowing what effect any thing has upon their minds at the time of delivery. In this they have a proper advantage; for how often does it happen that people would answer very differently upon a matter, were they to consider upon it for a short time! The Indians seldom answer a matter of importance the same day, lest, in so doing, they should be thought

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to have treated it as though it was of small consequence. We oftener repent of a hasty decision, than that we have lost time in maturing our judgments. Now for the anecdote: and as it is from the Essays of Dr. Franklin, it shall be told in his own way.

"A Swedish minister, having assembled the chiefs of the Susquehanna Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles and sufferings, &c. When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. 'What you have told us,' said he, 'is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cider. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far to tell us those things which you have learned from your mothers.'

"When the Indian had told the missionary one of the legends of his nation, how they had been supplied with maize or corn, beans, and tobacco, he treated it with contempt, and said, 'What I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood.' The Indian felt indignant, and replied, 'My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You see that we, who understand and practice those rules, believe all your stories why do you refuse to believe ours?'"

CURIOSITY.

"When any of the Indians come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon

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them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. 'We have,' say they, 'as much curiosity as you, and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes, where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company.'"

RULES OF CONVERSATION.

"The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, (for they have no writing), and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that, if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent. how different is this from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a day passes without some confusion that makes the speaker hoarse in calling *to order;* and how different from the mode of conversation in many polite companies of Europe, where, if you do not deliver your sentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient loquacity of those you converse with, and never suffered to finish it!"—Instead of being better

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since the days of Franklin, we apprehend it has grown worse. The modest and unassuming often find it exceeding difficult to gain a hearing at all. Ladies, and many who consider themselves examples of good manners, transgress to an insufferable degree, in breaking in upon the conversations of others. Some of these, like a ship driven by a north-wester, bearing down the small craft in her course, come upon us by surprise, and if we attempt to proceed by raising our voices a little, we are sure to be drowned by a much greater elevation on their part. It is a want of good breeding, which, it is hoped, every young person whose eye this may meet, will not be guilty of through life. There is great opportunity for many of mature years to profit by it.

LOST CONFIDENCE.

An Indian runner, arriving at a village of his countrymen, requested the immediate attendance of its inhabitants in council, as he wanted their answer to important information. The people accordingly assembled, but when the messenger had with great anxiety delivered his message, and waited for an answer, none was given, and he soon observed that he was likely to be left alone in his place. A stranger present asked a principal chief the meaning of this strange proceeding, who gave this answer, "*He once told us a lie.*"

COMIC.

An Indian having been found frozen to death, an inquest of his coutrymen was convened to determine by what means he came to such a death. Their verdict was, " Death from the freezing of a great quantity

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of water inside of him, which they were of opinion he had drunken for rum."

A SERIOUS QUESTION.

About 1794, an officer presented a western chief with a medal, on one side of which President Washington was represented as armed with a sword, and on the other an Indian was seen in the act of burying the hatchet. The chief at once saw the wrong done his countrymen, and very wisely asked, "*Why does not the President bury his sword too?*"

SELF-ESTEEM.

A white man, meeting an Indian, accosted him as brother. The red man, with a great expression of meaning in his countenance, inquired how they came to be brothers; the white man replied, O, by way of Adam, I suppose. The Indian added, "*Me thank him Great Spirit we no nearer brothers.*"

A PREACHER TAKEN AT HIS WORD.

A certain clergyman had for his text on a time, "*Vow and pay unto the Lord thy vows.*" An Indian happened to be present, who stepped up to the priest as soon as he had finished, and said to him, "Now me *vow* me go home with you, Mr. Minister." The priest, having no language of evasion at command, said, "You must go then." When he had arrived at the home of the minister, the Indian vowed again, saying, "Now me *vow* me have supper." When this was finished he said, "Me *vow* me stay all night." The priest, by this time, thinking himself sufficiently taxed, replied, "It may be so, but I *vow* you shall go in the morning." The Indian, judging from the tone of

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his host that more *vows* would be useless, departed in the morning *sans ceremonie*.

A CASE OF SIGNAL BARBARITY.

It is related by BLACK HAWK, in his life, that some time before the war of 1812, one of the Indians had killed a Frenchman at Prairie des Chiens. "The British soon after took him prisoner, and said they would shoot him next day! His family were encamped a short distance below the mouth of the Ouisconsin. He begged permission to go and see them that night, as he was to die the next day! They permitted him to go, after promising to return the next morning by sunrise. He visited his family, which consisted of a wife and six children. I cannot describe their meeting and parting to be understood by the whites; as it appears that their feelings are acted upon by certain rules laid down by their *preachers!*--whilst ours are governed only by the monitor within us. He parted from his wife and children, hurried through the prairie to the fort, and arrived in time! The soldiers were ready, and immediately marched out and shot him down!!"—If this were not cold-blooded, deliberate murder, on the part of the whites, I have no conception of what constitutes that crime. What were the circumstances of the murder we are not informed; but whatever they may have been, they cannot excuse a still greater barbarity. I would not by any means be understood to advocate the cause of a murderer; but I will ask, whether crime is to be prevented by crime: murder for murder is only a brutal retaliation, except where the safety of a community requires the sacrifice.

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MOURNING MUCH IN A SHORT TIME.

"A young widow, whose husband had been dead about eight days, was hastening to finish her grief, in order that she might be married to a young warrior: she was determined, therefore, to grieve much in a short time; to this end she tore her hair, drank spirits, and beat her breasts, to make the tears flow abundantly, by which means, on the evening of the eighth day, she was ready again to marry, having grieved sufficiently."

HOW TO EVADE A HARD QUESTION.

"When Mr. Gist went over the Alleganies, in Feb. 1751, on a tour of discovery for the Ohio Company, 'an Indian, who spoke good English, came to him, and said that their great man, the Beaver, and Captain Oppamyluah, (two chiefs of the Delawares,) desired to know where the Indians' land lay; for the French claimed all the land on one side of the Ohio River, and the English on the other.' This question Mr. Gist found it hard to answer, and he evaded it by saying, that the Indians and white men were all subjects to the same king and all had an equal privilege of taking up and possessing the land in conformity with the conditions prescribed by the king."

CREDULITY ITS OWN PUNISHMENT.

The traveler Wansey, according to his own account, would not enter into conversation with an eminent chief, because he had heard that it had been said of him, that he had, in his time, "shed blood enough to swim in." He had a great desire to become acquaintd with the Indian character, but his credulity debarred

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him effectually from the gratification. The chief was a Creek, named Flamingo, who, in company with another called Double-head, visited Philadelphia as ambassadors, in the summer of 1794. Few travelers discover such scrupulousness, especially those who come to America. That Flamingo was more bloody than other Indian warriors, is in no wise probable; but a mere report of his being a great shedder of blood kept Mr Wansey from saying any more about him.

JUST INDIGNATION.

Hatuay, a powerful chief of Hispaniola, having fled from thence to avoid slavery or death when that Island was ravaged by the Spaniards, was taken in 1511, when they conquered Cuba, and burnt at the stake. After being, bound to the stake, a Franciscan friar labored to convert him to the Catholic faith, by promises of immediate and eternal bliss in the world to come if he would believe; and that, if he would not, eternal torments were his only portion. The cazique, with seeming composure, asked if there were any Spaniards in those regions of bliss. On being answered that there were, he replied, "Then I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race."

HARMLESS DECEPTION.

In a time of Indian troubles, an Indian visited the house of Governor Jenks, of Rhode Island, when the governor took occasion to request him, that, if any strange Indian should come to his wigwam, to let him know it, which the Indian promised to do; but to secure his fidelity, the governor told him that when he

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should give him such information, he would give him a mug of flip. Some time after the Indian came again: "Well Mr. Gubernor, strange Indian come my house last night!" "Ah," says the governor, "and what did he say?" "He no speak," replied the Indian. "What, no speak at all?" added the governor. "No, he no speak at all." "That certainly looks suspicious," said his excellency, and inquired if he were still there, and being told that he was, ordered the promised mug of flip. When this was disposed of, and the Indian was about to depart, he mildly said, "Mr. Gubenor, my squaw have child last night; "and thus the governor's alarm was suddenly changed into disapointment, and the strange Indian into a new-born pappoose.

MAMMOTH BONES.

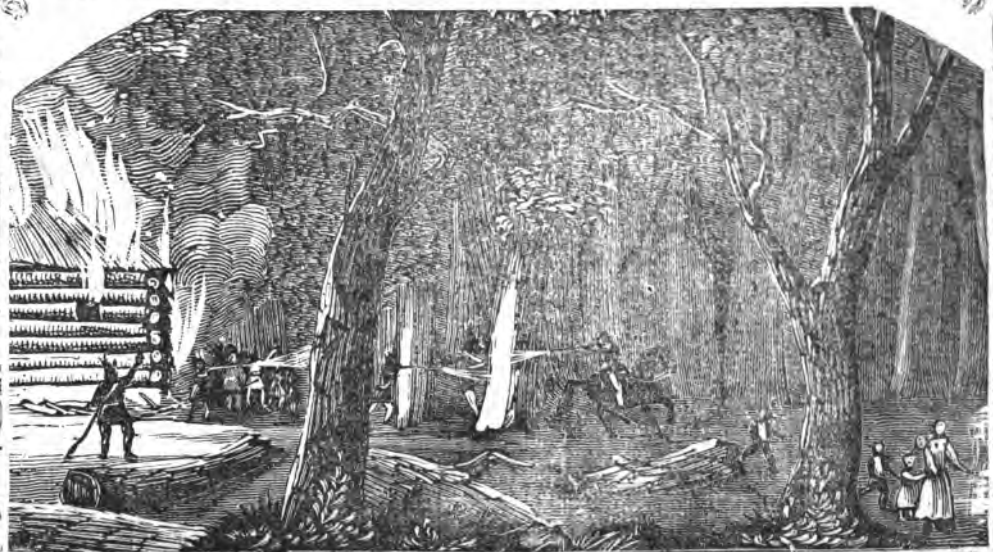
The following very interesting tradition concerning these bones, among the Indians, will always be read with interest. The animal to which they once belonged, they called the Big Buffalo; and on the early maps of the country of the Ohio, we see marked, "Elephants' bones said to be found here." They were, for some time, by many supposed to have been the bones of that animal; but they are pretty generally now believed to have belonged to a species of animal long since extinct. They have been found in various parts of the country; but in the greatest abnndance about the salt licks or springs in Kentucky and Ohio. There has never been an entire skeleton found, although the one in Peale's museum, in Philadelphia, was so near perfect, that, bya little ingeunity in supplying its defects with woodwork, it passes extremely well for such.

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The tradition of the Indians concerning this animal is, that he was carnivorous, and existed, as late as 1780, in the northern parts of America. Some Delawares, in the time of the revolutionary war, visited the governor of Virginia on business, which having been finished, some questions were put to them concerning their country, and especially what they knew or had heard respecting the animals whose bones had been found about the salt licks on the Ohio River. "The chief speaker," continues our author, Mr. Jefferson, "immediately put himself into an attitude of oratory, and, with a pomp suited to what he conceived the elevation of his subject," began and repeated as follows:—"In ancient times, a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Big-bone Licks, and began a universal destruction of the bear, deer, elks, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians: the great man above, looking down and seeing this, was so enraged, that he seized his lightning, descended to the earth, and seated himself on a neigboring mountain, on a rock of which his seat and the print of his feet are still to be seen, and hurled his bolts among them till the whole were slaughtered, except the big bull, who, presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell; but missing one at length, it wounded him in the side; whereon, springing round, he bounded over the Ohio, over the Wabash, the Illinois, and, finally, over the great lakes, where he is living at this day."

Such, say the Indians, is the account handed down to them from their ancestors and they could furnish no other information.

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Dustin saving his Family.

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NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY AND BOLD EXPLOIT OF HANNAH DUSTON.

The relation of this affair forms the XXV. article in the Decennium Luctuosum of the Magnalia Christi Americana, by Dr. Cotton Mather, and is one of the best written articles of all we have ever read from his pen. At its head is this significant sentence—Dux Fœmina Facti.

On the 15th of March, 1697, a band of about 20 Indians came unexpectedly upon Haverhill, in Massachusetts; and, as their numbers were small, they made their attack with the swiftness of the whirlwind, and as suddenly disappeared. The war, of which this irruption was a part, had continued nearly ten years, and soon afterwards it came to a close. The house which this party of Indians had singled out as their object of attack, belonged to one Mr. Thomas Duston or Dunstan, in the outskirts of the town. Mr. Duston was at work, at some distance from his house, at the time, and whether he was alarmed for the safety of his family by the shouts of the Indians, or other cause, we are not informed; but he seems to have arrived there time enough before the arrival of the Indians, to make some arrangements for the preservation of his children; but his wife, who, but about a week before, had been confined by a child, was unable to rise from her bed, to the distraction of her agonized husband. No time was to be lost; Mr. Duston had only time to direct his children's flight, (seven in number,) the extremes of whose ages were two and seventeen, and the Indians were upon them. With his gun, the distressed father mounted his horse, and rode away in the direction of

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the children, whom he overtook but about 40 rods from the house. His first intention was to take up one if possible, and escape with it. He had no sooner overtaken them, than this resolution was destroyed; for to rescue either to the exclusion of the rest, was worse than death itself to him. He therefore faced about and met the enemy, who had closely pursued him; each fired upon the other, and it is almost a miracle that none of the little retreating party were hurt. The Indians did not pursue long from fear of raising the neighboring English before they could complete their object, and hence this part of the family escaped to a place of safety.

We are now to enter fully into the relation of this very tragedy. There was living in the house of Mr. Duston, as nurse, Mrs. Mary Neff, a widow, whose heroic conduct in sharing the fate of her mistress, when escape was in her power, will always be viewed with admiration. The Indians were now in the undisturbed possession of the house, and having driven the sick woman from her bed, compelled her to sit quietly in the corner of the fire-place, while they completed the pillage of the house. This business being finished, it was set on fire, and Mrs. Duston, who before considered herself unable towalk, was, at the approach of night, obliged to march into the wilderness, and take her bed upon the cold ground. Mrs. Neff too lately attempted to escape with the infant child, but was intercepted, the child taken from her, and its brains beat out against a neighboring apple-tree, while its nurse was compelled to accompany her new and frightful masters also. The captives amounted in all

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to 13, some of whom, as they became unable to travel, were murdered, and left exposed upon the way. Although it was near night when they quitted Haverhill, they traveled, as they judged, 12 miles before encamping; "and then" says Dr. Mather, "kept up with their new masters in a long travel of an hundred and fifty miles, more or less, within a few days ensuing."

After journeying awhile, according to their custom, the Indians divided their prisoners. Mrs. Duston, Mrs. Neff, and a boy named Samuel Leonardson, who had been captured at Worcester, about 18 months before, fell to the lot of an Indian family, consisting of twelve persons,—two men, three women, and seven children. These, so far as our accounts go, were very kind to their prisoners, but told them there was one ceremony which they could not avoid, and to which they would be subjected when they should arrive at their place of destination, which was to run the gantlet. The place where this was to be performed, was an Indian village, 250 miles from Haverhill, according to the reckoning of the Indians. In their meandering course, they at length arrived at an island in the mouth of Contookook River, about six miles above Concord, in New Hampshire. Here one of the Indian men resided. It had been determined by the captives, before their arrival, that an effort should be made to free themselves from their wretched captivity; and not only to gain their liberty, but, as we shall presently see, something by way of remuneration from those who held them in bondage. The heroine, Duston, had resolved, upon the first opportunity that offered any chance of success, to kill her captors and scalp them, and to return home

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with such trophies as would clearly establish her reputation for heroism, as well as insure her a bounty from the public. She therefore communicated her design to Mrs. Neff and the English boy, who, it would seem, readily enough agreed to it. To the art of killing and scalping she was a stranger; and, that there should be no failure in the business, Mrs. Duston instructed the boy, who, from his long residence with them, had become as one of the Indians, to inquire of one of the men how it was done. He did so, and the Indian showed him, without mistrusting the origin of the inquiry. It was now March 31, and in the dead of the night following, this bloody tragedy was acted. When the Indians were in the most sound sleep, these three captives arose, and softly arming themselves with the tomahawks of their masters, allotted the number each should kill; and so truly did they direct their blows, that but one escaped that they designed to kill. This was a woman, whom they badly wounded, and one boy, for some reason they did not wish to harm, and accordingly he was allowed to escape unhurt. Mrs. Duston killed her master, and Leonardson killed the man who had so freely told him, but one day before, where to deal a deadly blow, and how to take off the scalp.

All was over before the dawn of day, and all things were got ready for leaving this place of blood. All the boats but one were scuttled, to prevent being pursued, and, with what provisions and arms the Indian camp afforded, they embarked on board the other, and slowly and silently took the course of the Merrimack river for their homes, where they all soon after arrived without accident.

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The whole country was astonished at the relation of the affair, the truth of which was never for a moment doubted. The ten scalps, and the arms of the Indians, were evidences not to be questioned; and the general court gave them fifty pounds as a reward, and numerous other gratuities were showered upon them. Colonel Nicholson, governor of Maryland, hearing of the transaction, sent them a generous present also.

Eight other houses were attacked beside Duston s, the owners of which, says the historian of that town, Mr. Myrick, in every case, were slain while defending them, and the blood of each stained his own door-sill.

NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF SCHENECTADY.

This was an event of great distress to the whole country, at the time it happened, and we are able to give some new facts in relation to it from a manuscript, which, we believe, has never before been published. These facts are contained in a letter from Governor Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, to Governor Hinckley, of Plimouth, dated about a month after the affair. They are as follow:—"Though you cannot but have heard of the horrid massacre comitted by the French and Indians at Senectada, a fortified and well compacted town 20 miles above Albany (which we had an account of by express,) yet we think we have not discharged our duty till you hear of it from us. It was upon the 8th of February, [1689–90] at midnight when those poor secure wretches were surprised by the enemy. Their gates were open, no watch kept, and hardly any order observed in giving and obeying

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commands. Sixty of them were butchered in the place; of whom Lieut. Talmage and four more were of Capt. Bull's company, besides five of said company carried captive. By this action the French have given us to understand what we may expect from them as to the frontier towns and seaports of New England. We are not so well acquainted what number of convenient Havens you have in your colony, besides those of Plimouth and Bristol. We hope your prudence and vigilance will lead you to take such measures as to prevent the landing of the enemy at either of those or any such like place."

We now proceed to give such other facts as can be gathered from the numerous printed accounts. It appears that the government of Canada had planned several expeditions, previous to the setting out of this, against various important points of the English frontier,—as much to gain the warriors of the Five Nations to their interest, as to distress the English. Governor De Nonville had sent over several sachems of the Iroquois to France, where, as usual upon such embassies, great pains were taken to cause them to entertain the highest opinions of the glory and greatness of the French nation. Among them was Taweraket, a renowned warrior, and two others. It appears that, during their absence in France, the great war between their countrymen and the French had ended in the destruction of Montreal, and other places. Hence, when Count Frontenac arrived in Canada, in the fall of 1689, instead of finding the Iroquois ready to join him and his forces which he had brought from France for the conquest of New York, he found him

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self obliged to set about a reconciliation of them. He therefore wisely despatched Taweraket, and the two others, upon that design. The Five Nations, on being called upon by these chiefs, would take no step without first notifying the English at Albany that a council was to be called. The blows which had been so lately given the French of Canada, had lulled the English into a fatal security, and they let this council pass with too little attention to its proceedings. On the other hand, the French were fully and ably represented; and the result was, the existing breach set in a fair way to be closed up. This great council was begun 22d January, 1690, and consisted of eighty sachems. It was opened by Sadekanaghtie, a great Oneida chief.

Meanwhile, to give employment to the Indians who yet remained their friends, the expedition was begun which ended in the destruction of Schenectady. Chief Justice Smith wrote his account of that affair from a manuscript letter left by Colonel Schuyler, at that time mayor of Albany; and it is the most particular of any account yet published. It is as follows, and bears date February 15, 1689:—

After two-and-twenty days' march, the enemy fell in with Schenectady, February 8th. There were about 200 French, and perhaps 50 Caughnewaga Mohawks, and they at first intended to have surprised Albany; but their march had been so long and tedious, occasioned by the deepness of the snow and coldness of the weather, that, instead of attempting any thing, offensive, they had nearly decided to surrender themselves to the first English they should

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meet, such was their distressed situation, in a camp of snow, but a few miles from the devoted settlement. The Indians, however, saved them from the disgrace. They had sent out a small scout from their party, who entered Schenectady without even exciting suspicion of their errand. When they had staid as long as the nature of their business required, they withdrew to their fellows.

Seeing that Schenectady offered such an easy prey, it put new courage into the French, and they came upon it as above related. The bloody tragedy commenced between 11 and 12 o'clock, on Saturday night; and that every house might be surprised at nearly the same time the enemy divided themselves into parties of six or seven men each. Although the town was impaled, no one thought it necessary to close the gates, even at night, presuming the severity of the season was a sufficient security; hence the first news of the approach of the enemy was at every door of every house, which doors were broken as soon as the profound slumbers of those they were intended to guard. The same inhuman barbarities now followed, that were afterwards perpetrated upon the wretched inhabitants of Montreal. "No tongue," said Col. Schuyler "can express the cruelties that were committed." Sixty-three houses, and the church, were in a blaze. Enciente women, in their expiring agonies, saw their infants cast into the flames, being first delivered by the knife of the midnight assassin! Sixty-three persons were put to death, and twenty-seven were carried into captivity.

A few persons fled towards Albany, with no other

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covering but their night clothes; the horror of whose condition was greatly enhanced by a great fall of snow; 25 of whom lost their limbs from the severity of the frost. With these poor fugitives came the intelligence to Albany, and that place was in dismal confusion, having, as usual upon such occasions, supposed the enemy to have been seven times more numerous than they really were. About noon, the next day, the enemy set off from Schenectady, taking all the plunder they could carry with them, among which were forty of the best horses. The rest, with all the cattle and other domestic animals, lay slaughtered in the streets.

One of the most considerable men of Schenectady, at this time, was Captain Alexander Glen. He lived on the opposite side of the river, and was suffered to escape, because he had delivered many French prisoners from torture and slavery, who had been taken by the Indians in the former wars. They had passed his house in the night, and, during the massacre, he had taken the alarm, and in the morning he was found ready to defend himself. Before leaving the village, a French officer summoned him to a council, upon the shore of the river, with the tender of personal safety. He at length adventured down, and had the great satisfaction of having all his captured friends and relatives delivered to him; and the enemy departed, keeping good their promise that no injury should be done him.

The great Mohawk castle was about 17 miles from Schenectady, and they did not hear of the massacre until two days after, owing to the state of traveling,

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On receiving the news, they immediately joined a party of men from Albany, and pursued the enemy. After a tedious pursuit, they fell upon their rear, killed and took 25 of them, and did them some other damage. Several chief sachems soon assembled at Albany, to condole with the people, and animate them against leaving the place, which it seems, they were about to do. From a specch of one of the chiefs on this occasion, the following extract is preserved:—

"Brethren, we do not think that what the French have done can be called a victory; it is only a further proof of their cruel deceit. The governor of Canada sent to Onondago, and talks to us of peace with our whole house; but war was in his heart, as you now see by woful experience. He did the same formerly at Cadaracqui, and in the Senecas' country. This is the third time he has acted so deceitfully. He has broken open our house at both ends; formerly in the Senecas' country, and now here. We hope to be revenged on them."

Accordingly, when messengers came to renew and conclude the treaty which had been begun by Taweraket, before mentioned, they were seized and handed over to the English. They also kept out scouts, and harassed the French in every direction.

We will now proceed to draw from Charlevoix' account of this affair, which is very minute, as it respects the operations of the French and Indians. Notwithstanding its great importance in a correct history of the sacking of Schenectady, none of our historians seem to have given themselves the trouble of laying it before their readers.

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Governor Frontenac, having determined upon an expedition, gave notice to M. de la Durantaye, who then commanded at Michilimakinak, that he might assure the Hurons and Ottawas, that in a short time they would see a great change in affairs for the better. He prepared at the same time a large convoy to reinforce that post, and he took measures also to raise three war parties, who should enter by three different routes, the country of the English. The first assembled at Montreal, and consisted of about 110 men, French and Indians, and was put under the command of MM. d'Aillebout de Mantet, and le Moine de St. Helene, two lieutenants, under whom MM. de Repentigny, d'Iberville, de Bonrepos, de la Brosse, and de Montigni, requested permission to serve as volunteers.

This party marched out before they had determined against what part of the English fronteir they would carry their arms though some part of New York was understood. Count Frontenac had left that to the two commanders. After they had marched five or six days, they called a council to determine upon what place they would attempt. In this council, it was debated, on the part of the French, that Albany would be the smallest place they ought to undertake; but the Indians would not agree to it. They contended that, with their small force, an attack upon Albany would be attended with extreme hazard. The French being strenuous, the debate grew warm, and an Indian chief asked them "how long it was since they had so much courage." To this severe rebuke it was answered, that, if by some past actions they had discovered cowardice, they should see that now they would

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retrieve their character; they would take Albany or die in the attempt. The Indians, however, would not consent, and the council broke up without agreeing upon any thing but to proceed on.

They continued their march until they came to a place where their path divided into two; one of which led to Albany, and the other to Schenectady: here Mantet gave up his design upon Albany, and they marched on harmoniously for the former village. The weather was very severe, and for the nine following days the little army suffered incredible hardships. The men were often obliged to wade through water up to their knees, breaking its ice at every step.

At 4 o'clock in the morning, the beginning of Feb., they arrived within two leagues of Schenectady. Here they halted, and the Great Agnier, chief of the Iroquois of the Falls of St. Louis, made a speech to them. He exhorted every one to forget the hardships they had endured, in the hope of avenging the wrongs they had for a long time suffered from the perfidious English, who were the authors of them; and in the close added, they could not doubt of the assistance of Heaven against the enemies of God, in a cause so just.

Hardly had they taken up their line of march, when they met 40 Indian women, who gave them all the necessary information for approaching the place in safety. A Canadian, named Giguiere, was detached immediately with nine Indians upon discovery, who acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the officers. He reconnoitred Schenectady at his leisure, and then rejoined his comrades.

It had been determined by the party to put off the

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attack one day longer; but on the arrival of the scout under Giguiere, it was resolved to proceed without delay.

Schenectady was then in form like that of a long square, and entered by two gates, one at each end. One opened towards Albany, the other upon the great road leading into the back country, and which was now possessed by the French and Indians. Mantet and St. Helene charged at the second gate, which the Indian women before mentioned had assured them was always open, and they found it so. D'Iberville and Repentigni passed to the left, in order to enter by the other gate, but, after losing some time in vainly endeavoring to find it, were obliged to return and enter with their comrades.

The gate was not only open but unguarded, and the whole party entered without being discovered. Dividing themselves into several parties, they waylaid every portal, and then the war-whoop was raised. Mantet formed and attacked a garrison, where the only resistance of any account was made. The gate of it was soon forced, and all of the English fell by the sword, and the garrison was burned. Montigni was wounded, in forcing a house, in his arm and body by two blows of a halberd, which put him *hors du combat;* but St. Helene being come to his assistance, the house was taken, and the wounds of Montigni revenged by the death of all who had shut themselves up in it.

Nothing was now to be seen but massacre and pillage, in every place. At the end of about two hours, the chiefs, believing it due to their safety, posted bodies of guards at all the avenues, to prevent surprise,

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and the rest of the night was spent in refreshing themselves.

Mantet had given orders that the minister of the place should be spared, whom he had intended for his own prisoner; but he found him among the promiscuous dead, and no one knew when he was killed, and all his papers were burned.

After the place was destroyed, the chiefs ordered all the casks of liquors to be staved, to prevent their men from getting drunk. They next set all the houses on fire, excepting that of a widow, into which Montigni had been carried, and another belonging to Major Coudre: they were in number about 40, all well built and furnished; no booty but that which could be easily transported was saved. The lives of about sixty persons were spared; chiefly women, children, and old men, who had escaped the fury of the onset, and 30 Indians who happened to be in the place. The lives of the Indians were spared that they might carry the news of what had happened to their countrymen, whom they were requested to inform, that it was not against them that they intended any harm, but to the English only, whom they had now despoiled of property to the amount four hundred thousand pounds.

They were too near Albany to remain long among the ruins, and they decamped about noon. The plunder—Montigni, whom it was necessary to carry—the prisoners, who were to the number of 40—and the want of provisions, with which they had in their hurry neglected to provide themselves—retarded much their etreat. Many would have even died of famine, had they not had 50 horses, of which there remained but

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six when they arrived at Montreal, upon the 27th of of March following. Their want of provisions obliged them to separate, and in an attack that was made upon one party, three Indians and six Frenchmen were killed or taken; an attack, which, for want of proper caution, cost the army more lives than the capture of Schenectady; in which they lost but two men, a Frenchman and an Indian

MURDER OF MISS JANE McCREA.

This young lady "was the second daughter of James McCrea, minister of Lamington, New Jersey, who died before the revolution. After his death, she resided with her brother, Col. John McCrea of Albany, who removed in 1773 to the neighborhood of Fort Edward. His house was in what is now Northumberland, on the west side of the Hudson, three miles north of Fort Miller Falls. In July or August, 1777, being on a visit to the family of Mrs. McNeil, near Fort Edward, at the close of the week, she was asked to remain until Monday. On Sunday morning, when the Indians came to the house she concealed herself in the cellar; but they dragged her out by the hair, and, placing her on a horse, proceeded on the road towards Sandy Hill. They soon met another party of Indians, returning from Argyle, where they had killed the family of Mr. Bains; these Indians disapproved the purpose of taking the captive to the British camp, and one of them struck her with a tomahawk and tore off her scalp. This is the account given by her nephew. The account of Mrs. McNeil is, that her lover, anxious for her safety, employed two Indians, with the promise of a barrel

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MURDER OF MISS McCREA.

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of rum to bring her to him; and that, in consequence of their dispute for the right of conducting her, one of them murdered her. Gen. Gates in his letter to Gen. Burgoyne of September 2d, says 'she was dressed to to receive her promised husband.'

"Her brother, on hearing of her fate, sent his family the next day to Albany, and, repairing to the American camp, buried his sister, with one Lieut. Van Vechten, three miles south of Fort Edward. She was 23 years old, of an amiable and virtuous character, and highly esteemed by all her acquaintance. It is said, and was believed, that she was engaged in marriage to Captain David Jones, of the British army, a loyalist, who survived her only a few years, and died, as was supposed of grief for her loss. Her nephew, Colonel James McCrea, lived at Saratoga, in 1823."

Under the name of Lucinda, Barlow has dwelt upon this murder in a strain that may be imitated, but not surpassed. We select from him as follows:—

> "One deed shall tell what fame great Albion draws
> From these auxiliars in her barb'rous cause—
> LUCINDA'S fate. The tale, ye nations, hear:
> Eternal ages, trace it with a tear."

The poet then makes Lucinda, during a battle, wander from her home to watch her lover, whom he calls Heartly. She distinguishes him in the conflict, and, when his squadron is routed by the Americans, she proceeds to the contested ground, fancying she had seen him fall at a certain point. But

> "He hurries to his tent;—oh, rage! despair
> No glimpse, no tidings, of the frantic fair;

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Save that some carmen, as a-camp they drove,
Had seen her coursing for the western grove.
Faint with fatigue, and choked with burning thirst,
Forth from his friends, with bounding leap, he burst,
Vaults o'er the palisade, with eyes on flame,
And fills the welkin with Lucinda's name.
The fair one, too, of every aid forlorn,
Had raved and wandered, till officious morn
Awaked the Mohawks from their short repose,
To glean the plunder ere their comrades rose.
Two Mohawks met the maid——historian, hold!—
She starts—with eyes upturned and fleeting breath,
In their raised axes views her instant death.
Her hair, half lost along the shrubs she passed,
Rolls in loose tangles, round her lovely waist;
Her kerchief torn betrays the globes of snow,
To heave responsive to their weight of woe.
With calculating pause and demon grin
They seize her hands, and, through her face divine,
Drive the descending axe!—the shriek she sent
Attained her lover's ear; he hither bent
With all the speed his wearied limbs could yield,
Whirled his keen blade, and stretched upon the field
The yelling fiends, who there disputing stood
Her gory scalp the horrid prize of blood!
He sunk delirious, on her lifeless clay,
And passed, in starts of sense, the dreadful day!"

In a note to the above passage, Mr. Barlow says this tragical story of Miss McCrea is detailed almost literally.

EXTRAORDINARY INSTANCE OF FEMALE HEROISM.

This is extracted from a letter writen by Col. James Perry to the Rev. Jordan Dodge, dated Nelson Co., Ky., April 20, 1788.—"On the first of April inst., a number of Indians surrounded the house of John Merril, which was discovered by the barking of a dog. Merril stepped to the door to see what he could dis-

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cover, and received three musket-balls, which caused him to fall back into the house with a broken leg and arm. The Indians rushed on to the door; but it being instantly fastened by his wife, who, with a girl of about 15 years of age, stood against it, the savages could not immediately enter. They broke one part of the door, and one of them crowded partly through. The heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe, and gave a fatal blow to the savage; and he falling headlong into the house, the others, supposing they had gained their end, rushed after him, until four of them fell in like manner before they discovered their mistake. The rest retreated, which gave opportunity again to secure the door. The conquerors rejoiced in their victory, hoping they had killed the whole company; but their expectations were soon dashed, by finding the door again attacked, which the bold mother endeavored once more to secure, with the assistance of the young woman. Their fears now came on them like a flood; and they soon heard a noise on the top of the house, and then found the Indians were coming down the chimney. All hopes of deliverance seemed now at an end; but the wounded man ordered his little child to tumble a couch, that was filled with hair and feathers, on the fire, which made such a smoke that two stout Indians came tumbling down into it. The wounded man, at this critical moment, seized a billet of wood, wounded as he was, and with it succeeded in despatching the half-smothered Indians. At the same moment, the door was attempted by another; but the heroine's arm had become too enfeebled by

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over-exertions to deal a deadly blow. She however caused him to retreat wounded. They then again set to work to make their house more secure, not knowing but another attack would be made; but they were not further disturbed. This affair happened in the evening, and the victors carefully watched with their new family until morning. A prisoner, that escaped immediately after, said the Indian last mentioned was the only one that escaped. He, on returning to his friends, was asked, 'What news?' said 'Plaguy bad news, for the squaws fight worse than the long-knives.' This affair happened at Newbardstown, about 15 miles from Sandy Creek, and may be depended upon, as I had the pleasure to assist in tumbling them into a hole, after they were stripped of their head-dresses, and about 20 dollars' worth of silver furniture."

WELSH OR WHITE INDIANS.

Narrative of Capt. Isaac Stuart, of the Provincial Cavalry of South Carolina, taken from his own mouth, by I. C., Esq., March, 1782.

"I was taken prisoner, about 50 miles to the westward of Fort Pitt, 18 years ago, by the Indians, and carried to the Wabash, with other white men. They were executed, with circumstances of horrid barbarity; but it was my good fortune to call forth the sympathy of a good woman of the village, who was permitted to redeem me from those who held me prisoner, by giving them a horse as a ransom. After remaining two years in bondage, a Spaniard came to the nation, having been sent from Mexico on discoveries. He made application to the chiefs of the Indians for hiring

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me, and another white man who was in the like situation, a native of Wales, and named John Davey, which was complied with. We took our departure and traveled to the westward, crossing the Mississippi near Red River, up which we traveled upwards of 700 miles. Here we came to a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a reddish color, at least, mostly so. They lived on a small river which emptied itself into Red River, which they called the River Post; and in the morning, the day after our arrival, the Welshman informed me that he was determined to remain with the nation of Indians, giving as a reason that he understood their language, it being very litte different from the Welsh. My curiosity was excited very much by this information, and I went with my companion to the chief men of the town, who informed him, in a language that I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity with that of any other Indian tongue that I ever heard, that the forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi (describing particularly the country now called West Florida); and that, on the Spaniards taking possession of the country, they fled to their then abode; and, as a proof of what they advanced, they brought out rolls of parchment wrote with blue ink, at least it had a bluish cast. The characters I did not understand, and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters of any language, I was not able to know what the meaning of the writing was. They were a bold, hardy, intrepid people, very warlike, and their women were beautiful, compared with other Indians."

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Thus we have given so much of Captain Stuart's narrative as relates to the WHITE INDIANS. The remainder of it is taken up in details of several excursions, of many hundred miles, in the interior of the continent, without any extraordinary occurrence, except the finding of a gold mine. He returned by way of the Mississippi, and was considered a man of veracity by the late Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, of South Carolina, who recommended him to the gentleman who communicated his narrative.

The next we shall notice is found in Mr. Charles Beatty's journal, the substance of which is as follows:

At the foot of the Alleghany Mountains, in Pennsylvania, Mr. Beatty stopped at the house of a Mr. John Miller, where he "met with one Benjamin Sutton, who had been taken captive by the Indians, and had been in different nations, and lived many years among them. When he was with the Choctaws, at the Mississippi River, he went to an Indian town, a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of different complexions, not so tawny as those of the other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. He saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welsh Bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a skin, but they could not read it; and he heard some of these Indians afterwards, in the lower Shawanee town, speak Welsh with one Lewis, a Welshman, captive there. This tribe now lives on the west side of the Mississippi, a great way above New Orleans."

At Tuscarora valley he met with another man, named Levi Hicks, who had been a captive from his

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youth with the Indians. He said he was once attending an embassy at an Indian town, on the west side of the Mississippi, where the inhabitants spoke Welsh, as he was told, for he did not understand them himself. An Indian, named Joseph Peepy, Mr. Beatty's interpreter, said he once saw some Indians, whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked Welsh. He was sure they talked Welsh, for he had been acquainted with Welsh people, and knew some words they used.

To the above Mr. Beatty adds: "I have been informed, that many years ago, a clergyman went from Britain to Virginia, and having lived some time there, went from thence to South Carolina; but after some time, for some reason, he resolved to return to Virginia, and accordingly set out by land, accompanied by some other persons. In traveling through the back parts of the country, which was then very thinly inhabited, he fell in with a party of Indian warriors, going to attack the inhabitants of Virginia. Upon examining the clergyman, and finding he was going to Virginia, they looked upon him and his companions as belonging to that province, and took them all prisoners, and told them they must die. The clergyman, in preparation for another world, went to prayer, and, being a Welshman, prayed in the Welsh language. One or more of the Indians was much surprised to hear him pray in their own language. Upon this they spoke to him, and finding he could understand them, got the sentence of death reversed, and his life was saved. They took him with them into their country, where he found a tribe whose native language was Welsh, though the dialect was a little different from his own, which he

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soon came to understand. They showed him a book, which he found to be the Bible, but which they could not read; and on his reading and explaining it, their regard for him was much heightened." After some time, the minister proposed to these people to return to his own country, and promised to return again to them with others of his friends, who would instruct them in Christianity; but not long after his return to England, he died, which put an end to his design.

It is very natual to inquire how these Indians, though descended from the Welsh, came by books; for it is well known that the period at which the Welsh must have come to America, was long before printing was discovered, or that any writings assumed the form of books as we now have them. It should be here noted that Mr. Beatty traveled in the autumn of 1766.

Major Rogers, in his "Concise Account of North America," published in 1765, notices the White Indians; but the geography of their country he leaves any where on the west of the Mississippi; probably never having visited them himself, although he tells us he traveled very extensively in the interior. "This fruitful country," he says, "is at present inhabited by a nation of Indians, called by the others, the White Indians, on account of their complexion; they being much the fairest Indians on the continent. They have, however, Indian eyes, and a certain guilty Jewish, cast with them. This nation is very numerous, being able to raise between 20 and 30,000 fighting men. They have no weapons but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and a kind of wooden pikes, for which reason they often suffer greatly from the eastern In-

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dians, who have the use of fire-arms, and frequently visit the white Indians on the banks of the easterly branch, [of Muddy River] and kill or capture them in great numbers. Such as fall into their hands, they generally sell for slaves. These Indians live in large towns, and have commodious houses; they raise corn, tame the wild cows, and use both their milk and flesh; they keep great numbers of dogs, and are very dextrous in hunting; they have little or no commerce with any nation that we are at present acquainted with."

In the account of Kentucky, written in 1784, by an excellent writer, Mr. John Filson, we find as follows: After noticing the voyage of Madoc, who with his ten ships with emigrants sailed west about 1170, and who were, according to the Welsh historians, never heard of after, he proceeds:—"This account has at several times drawn the attention of the world; but as no vestige of them had yet been found, it was concluded, perhaps too rashly, to be a fable, or at least that no remains of the colony existed. Of late years, however, western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the the other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies of the Christian worship; and at length this is universally believed there to be a fact. Capt. Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whose veracity may be entirely depended upon, assured the author that in the late war [revolution] being with his company in garrison, at Kaskaskia, some Indians came there, and, speaking the Welsh dialect, were perfectly understood and conversed with by two

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Welshmen in his company, and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as mentioned above."

Henry Ker, who traveled among thirteen tribes of Indians in 1810, &c., names one near a great mountain which he calls Mnacedeus. He said Dr. Sibley had told him, when at Natchitoches, that a number of travelers had assured him, that there was a strong similarity between the Indian language and many of the words of the Welsh. Mr. Ker found nothing among any of the Indians to indicate a Welsh origin until he arrived among the Mnacedeus. Here he found many customs which were Welsh, or common to that people, and he adds; "I did not understand the Welsh language, or I should have been enabled to have thrown more light upon so interesting a subject," as they had "printed books among them which were preserved with great care, they having a tradition that they were brought there by their forefathers." Upon this, in another place, he observes, "The books appeared very old, and were evidently printed at a time when there had been very little improvement made in the casting of types. I obtained a few leaves from one of the chiefs, sufficient to have thrown light on the subject; but in some subsequent disputes with the Indians, I lost them, and all my endeavors to obtain more, were ineffectual."

How or at what time these Indians obtained "printed books," Mr. Ker does not give us his opinion; although he says much more about them.

There are a great number of others who have noticed these Indians; but after an examination of them

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all, I am unable to add much to the above stock of information concerning them. Upon the whole, we think it may be pretty safely said, the existence of a race of Welsh about the regions of the Missouri does not rest on so good authority as that which has been adduced to establish the existence of the sea-serpent.

ORIGIN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

It has long been a question agitated among the learned, how America was first peopled. The opinion best supported is, that the Indians of this country emigrated from the north-eastern parts of Asia, crossing over to this continent at Beering's Straits. It having been established, by the discoveries of Capt. Cook, that at Kamschatka, in about latitude 66 degs. north, the continents of Asia and America are separated by a strait only eighteen miles wide, and that the inhabitants on each continent are similar, and frequently pass and repass in canoes from one continent to the other: from these and other circumstances it is rendered highly probable that America was first peopled from the north-east parts of Asia.

But since the Esquimaux Indians are manifestly a separate species of men, distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, disposition, and habits of life; and in all these respects bear a near resemblance to the northern Europeans, it is believed that the Esquimaux Indians emigrated from the north-west parts of Europe.

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INDIAN SAGACITY.

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INDIAN CUNNING AND SAGACITY.

The Indians have ever been remarkable for their cunning and sagacity.

The following will serve to illustrate this part of their character.

A Pequot Indian, in time of war, was pursued by a Narraganset. Finding it difficult to escape, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Retiring behind a rock, he elevated his hat upon his gun just above the rock, so that nothing but his hat appeared. The Narraganset, who was some distance off, perceiving this, crept up softly, within a few feet, and fired, and supposed that he had shot his enemy through the head. But he soon found out his mistake, for the Pequot immediately sprung around the rock, and shot him before he had time to load his gun.

Such is the sagacity and habits of nice observation which an Indian possesses, that it is said, he can tell whether his enemy has passed any place—will discern foot-marks which a European could not see; he will tell what tribe it was, and what were their numbers.

On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will he discern traces. In the pursuit of game they will track their prey in the same manner, and see which way to go in pursuit.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PEQUOTS.

The year 1637 is memorable in the history of Connecticut for the war with the Pequot Indians—one of the most warlike and haughty tribes in New England. Previous to the breaking out of the war, the Pequots had much annoyed the English, and murdered a num-

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ber of them, whereupon a court was summoned at Hartford who determined upon a war with the Pequots. Ninety men were mustered from the town of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, being about half of the effective force of the whole colony. This expedition was commanded by Capt. Mason, assisted by Capt. Underhill. Previous to their marching, the Rev. Mr. Hooker, of Hartford, addressed them in the following manner:

"Fellow-Soldiers, Countrymen, and Companions, you are this day assembled by the special Providence of God; you are not collected by wild fancy, nor ferocious passions. It is not a tumultuous assembly, whose actions are aborted, or if successful, produce only theft, rapine, rape, and murder: crimes inconsistent with nature's light, inconsistent with a soldier's valor. You, my dear hearts, were selected from your neighbors, by the godly fathers of the land, for your known courage to execute such a work.

"Your cause is the cause of heaven; the enemy have blasphemed your God, and slain his servants; you are only the ministers of his justice. I do not pretend that your enemies are careless or indifferent; no, their hatred is inflamed, their lips thirst for blood; they would devour you, and all the people of God; but, my brave soldiers, their guilt has reached the clouds; they are ripe for destruction; their cruelty is notorious; and cruelty and cowardice are always united.

"There is nothing, therefore to prevent your certain victory, but their nimble feet, their impenetrable swamps and woods; from these your small numbers will entice them, or your courage drive them. I now put

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the question—Who would not fight in such a cause? fight with undaunted boldness? Do you wish for more encouragement? more I give you. Riches awaken the soldier's sword; and though you will not obtain silver and gold on the field of victory, you will secure what is infinitely more precious; you will secure the *liberties, the privileges, and the lives of Christ's Church in this new world.*

"You will procure safety to your affectionate wives, safety for your prattling, harmless, smiling babes; you will secure all the blessings enjoyed by the people of God in the ordinances of the gospel. Distinguished was the honor conferred upon David, for fighting the battles of the Lord: this honor, O ye courageous soldiers of God, is now prepared for you. You will now execute his vengeance on the heathen; you will bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.

"But perhaps some one may fear that a fatal arrow may deprive him of this honor. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus Christ be assured, that if any servant be taken away, it is merely because the honors of this world are too narrow for his reward; an everlasting crown is set upon his head, because the rewards of this life are insufficient. March, then, with Christian courage, in the strength of the Lord; march with faith in his divine promises, and soon your swords shall find your enemies; soon they shall fall like leaves of the forest under your feet."

Being now joined by *Uncas*, the sachem of the Mohegans, they all proceeded down the river to Saybrook where they formed their plan of operations. It was

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determined to attack the enemy in one of their principal forts, (in the present town of Stonington,) where Sassacus, their chief sachem, had retired. Previous to the attack, Capt. Mason was joined by about five hundred Narraganset Indians, who, when they understood that they were to fight Sassacus, betrayed much fear, and retired to the rear, saying, "*Sassacus was all one a god, and nobody could kill him.*"

The time fixed at length arrived—the dawn of the 26th of May, which was to decide the fate of the colony of Connecticut. The barking of a dog, when within a few rods of the fort, announced their approach, and aroused the Pequot sentinel, who cried out, *Owannux! Owannux!* i. e. Englishmen! Englishmen! The captains, followed by their men, courageously pressed forward, found an entrance, and fired upon the enemy in the fort, who made a desperate resistance. The destruction of the Pequots was terrible, yet the victory seemed doubtful. Captain Mason (who with his men were now nearly exhausted) seized a firebrand, and set fire to a wigwam, of which there were many in the fort, covered with mats and other combustible materials. The fire, assisted by the wind, spread rapidly, and directly the whole fort was in a flame. The roar and crackling of the flames, with the yells of savages, and the discharge of musketry, formed an awful and terrific scene! The troops who had now formed outside of the fort, with the friendly Indians, who had by this time gathered courage to approach, surrounded the enemy, and fired upon those who attempted to escape.

The work of destruction was complete; of five or

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six hundred Pequots, only seven or eight escaped—the rest were either shot or perished in the flames. The loss of the English was only two killed, and sixteen wounded.

ELLIOT, THE INDIAN MISSIONARY.

In 1650, the society in England, instituted for propagating the gospel, began a correspondence with the commissioners of the colonies of New England, who were employed as agents of the society. In consequence, exertions were made to christianize the Indians. Mr. John Elliot, minister of Roxbury, distinguished himself in this pious work. He collected the Indian families, and established towns; he taught them husbandry, the mechanic arts, and a prudent management of their affairs, and instructed them with unwearied attention, in the principles of Christianity. For his uncommon zeal and success, he has been called the Apostle of New England.

Mr. Elliot began his labors about the year 1646. His first labor was to learn the language, which was peculiarly difficult to acquire; for instance, the Indian word *Nammatchechodtantamoonganunnonash*, signifies no more in English than *our lusts*. Elliot having finished a grammar of this tongue, at the close of which he wrote, "*Prayers and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything!*" With very great labor he translated the whole Bible into the Indian language. This Bible was printed in 1664, at Cambridge, and was the first Bible ever printed in America. He also translated the *Practice of Piety*, *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, besides some smaller works, into the Indian tongue. Having performed many wearisome

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journeys, and endured many hardships and privations this indefatigable missionary closed his labors in 1690, aged eighty-six years.

The ardor and zeal of Elliot, Mayhew, and others, were crowned with such success, that in 1660, there were ten towns of Indians in Massachusetts who were converted to the Christian religion. In 1695, there were not less than three thousand adult converts in the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

(*Attack on Brookfield.*)

In the year 1675, Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, and grandson of Massasoit, began the most destructive war ever waged by the Indians upon the infant colonies. He resided at Mount Hope, in the present town of Bristol, in Rhode Island.

It is supposed that his object was the entire extinction of the colonists, who were now rapidly extending their settlements. The immediate cause of the war was this: Sausaman, an Indian missionary, had made a discovery of Philip's plots to the English, for which Philip caused him to be murdered. The murderers were tried and executed by the English. This roused the anger of Philip, who immediately commenced hostilities, and by his influence, drew into the war most of the Indian tribes in New England.

Philip fled to the Nipmucks, a tribe of Indians in that part of Massachusetts which is now called Worcester county, and persuaded them to assist him. The English sent a party also to this tribe, to renew a former treaty; but Philip's influence prevailed, and

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this party were waylaid, and eight of their number killed. The remainder fled to Brookfield, pursued by the Indians into the town. Every house in this place was burnt by the Indians except one, into which the inhabitants had fled for refuge; this was soon surrounded by their foes, and for two days they poured into its walls a shower of musket balls. Only one person, however, was killed. Brands and rags, dipped in brimstone, attached to the ends of long poles, were used to fire the house; arrows of fire were shot against it; and a carriage of tow and other combustibles, was with long poles, pushed against the house, and the savages stood ready to slaughter all who should attempt to escape.

At this awful and critical moment, a sudden torrent of rain extinguished the kindling flames. Major Willard soon after came to their assistance, raised the siege, and, after some slaughter of the enemy, compelled them to retreat.

SWAMP FIGHT WITH THE NARRAGANSETS.

Lest Philip should increase his power, by an alliance with the Narraganset Indians, the English had made a friendly treaty with them in July, 1675. But notwithstanding this, in December of the same year, it was discovered that they were secretly aiding Philip's party. This determined the English to undertake a winter expedition against them. For this object, the colony of Massachusetts furnished five hundred and twenty-seven men, Plymouth one hundred and fifty-nine, and Connecticut three hundred; to all these were attached one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians. After electing Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth

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colony, to be their commander, the whole party met at Pettyquamsquot. About sixteen miles from this place, it was found that the Narragansets had built a strong fort in the midst of a large swamp, upon a piece of dry land of about five or six acres. The fort was a circle of pallisadoes surrounded by a fence of trees, which was about one rod thick.

On the 19th of December, 1675, at dawn of day, the English took up their march through a deep snow, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon attacked the Indians in their fortress. The only entrance which appeared practicable was over a log, or tree, which lay up five or six feet from the ground, and this opening was commanded by a sort of a block house in front. The Massachusetts men, led on by their captains, first rushed into the fort, but the enemy from the block house and other places, opened so furious a fire upon them, that they were obliged to retreat. Many men were killed in this assault, and among them Captains Johnson and Davenport. The whole army then made a united onset. The conflict was terrible. Some of the bravest captains fell, and victory seemed very doubtful. At this crisis some of the Connecticut men ran to the opposite side of the fort, where there were no pallisadoes; they sprang in, and opened a brisk and well directed fire upon the backs of the enemey. This decided the contest. The Indians were driven from one covert to another, until they were wholly destroyed or dispersed in the wilderness. As they retreated, the soldiers set fire to their wigwams, (about six hundred in number,) which were consumed by the flames. In this action it was computed that about seven hundred

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fighting Indians perished, and among them twenty of their chiefs. Three hundred more died from their wounds;—to these numbers may be added many old men, women, and children, who had retired to this fort as a place of undoubted security.

"The burning of the wigwams, the shrieks of the women and children, the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrid and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers. They were much in doubt whether the burning of their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity and the benevolent principles of the gospel."

From this blow the Indians never recovered. The victory of the English, though complete, was dearly purchased: six of their captains, and eighty of their men, were killed or mortally wounded; and one hundred and fifty were wounded and afterwards recovered. About one half of the loss of this bloody fight fell upon the Connecticut soldiers.

MORTALITY AMONG THE INDIANS.

A few years after the arrival of the Plymouth settlers, a very mortal sickness raged with great violence among the Indians inhabiting the eastern parts of New England. "Whole towns were depopulated. The living were not able to bury the dead; and their bones were found lying above ground many years after. The Massachusetts Indians are said to have been reduced from thirty thousand to three thousand fighting men. In 1633, the small pox swept off great numbers.

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[illegible] WAR

The [illegible] in New England [illegible] 1675.

[illegible] was with the [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] from [illegible] of [illegible] forces [illegible] even [illegible]

Captain [illegible] in the [illegible] that Philip [illegible] this point [illegible] with which [illegible] distrusted Philip. [illegible] is scarcely [illegible] moment a bullet [illegible] ley [illegible] born and [illegible] colonist [illegible] English [illegible] fire. The Indian [illegible] the heart of Philip [illegible] of the swamp. [illegible] body was [illegible] beheaded and [illegible]

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PHILIP

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sent to Plymouth, where it was exposed for twenty years, on a gibbet; his hands to Boston, where they were exhibited in triumph; and his mangled body was denied the right of sepulture.] The Indian who executed this order, taking his hatchet, thus addressed the body of Philip:—"You have been one very great man —you have made a many a man afraid of you—but so big as you be, I will chop you in pieces."

"Thus fell a brave chieftain, who defended himself, and what he imagined to be the just rights of his countrymen, to the last extremity."

After the death of Philip, the war continued in the province of Maine, till the spring of 1678. But westward, the Indians having lost their chiefs, wigwams, and provisions, and perceiving farther contest vain, came in singly, and by tens, and by hundreds, and submitted to the English.

Thus closed a melancholy period in the annals of New England history; during which, 600 men, in the flower of their strength, had fallen; 12 or 13 towns had been destroyed, and 600 dwelling houses consumed. Every 11th family was houseless, and every 11th soldier had sunk to the grave.

WAR WITH THE TUSCARORAS.

In 1710, a large number of German emigrants arrived in this country, and settled in North Carolina. Two years after their arrival, the Tuscaroras, Corees, and other tribes of Indians, formed a deep conspiracy for the extermination of the English settlers. Having fortified the chief town in the Tuscarora nation, for the security of their own families, the different tribes met at this place, to the number of 1200 warriors, and

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laid the horrible plot, which was concerted and executed with stability and great secresy. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, which entered the settlements by different roads, under the mask of friendship. When the night agreed on had arrived, they entered the houses of the settlers, and demanded provisions; and feigning displeasure, fell upon them, and murdered men, women, and children, without distinction. About Roanoke, 137 persons perished in the massacre. A few persons escaping, gave the alarm to their neighbors the next morning, and thus prevented the entire destruction of the colony.

Governor Craven of South Carolina, as soon as he heard of this massacre, immediately sent Col. Barnwell, with 600 militia and 360 friendly Indians, against these savages. Marching through a hideous wilderness, Barnwell came up with the enemy, and attacked them with great effect. In this action he killed 300 Indians, and took 100 prisoners. The survivors fled to their fortified town, where Col. Barnwell surrounded them, killed a great number, and compelled the remainder to sue for peace. It is estimated that in this expedition nearly a thousand of the Tuscaroras were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Of Barnwell's men, five were killed, and several wounded; of his Indians, thirty-six were killed, and between sixty and seventy wounded.

"Never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties; nor had the conquest of any tribe of them been more general and complete." Most of the Tuscaroras who escaped, abandoned their country, settled

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among the Five Nations, and added a sixth tribe, since which time they have been called the Six Nations.

WAR WITH THE YAMASEES.

In the year 1715, an Indian war broke out in South Carolina, which threatend a total extirpation of the colony. The numerous and powerful tribe of the Yamasees, possessing a large territory back of Port Royal Island, were the most active in this conspiracy. On the 15th of April, about break of day, the cries of war gave universal alarm; and in a few hours, above ninety persons were massacred in Pocataligo and the neighboring plantations. A captain of the militia escaping to Port Royal, alamed the town; and a vessel happening to be in the harbor, the inhabitants repaired precipitately on board, sailed for Charleston, and thus providentially escaped a massacre. A few familes of planters on the island, not having timely notice of the danger, fell into the hands of the savages.

While some Indian tribes were thus advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation through the province, formidable parties from the other tribes were penetrating into the settlements on the northern borders; for every tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear, was concerned in the conspiracy. The capital trembled for its own perilous situation. In this moment of universal terror, although there were no more than one thousand two hundred men on the muster roll, fit to bear arms, yet the governor resolved to march with this small force against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law; laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the

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country; and obtained an act of assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found; to arm trusty negroes: and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. Agents were sent to Virginia and England, to solicit assistance; and bills were stamped for the payment of the army and other expenses.

The Indians on the northern quarter, about fifty miles from Charleston, having murdered a family on a plantation, Captain Barker, receiving intelligence of their approach, collected a party of ninety horsemen, and advanced against them. Trusting, however, to an Indian guide, he was led into an ambuscade, and slain, with several of his men. A party of four hundred Indians came down as low as Goose Creek, where seventy men and forty negroes had surrounded themselves with a breast work, with the resolution of maintaining their posts. Discouraged, however, almost as soon as attacked, they rashly agreed to terms of peace; but on admitting the enemy within their works, they were barbarously murdered. The Indians now advanced still nearer to Charleston; but were repulsed by the militia.

In the mean time, the Yamasees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and proceeded down to Stono. Governor Craven, advancing towards the wily enemy, with cautious steps, dispersed their straggling parties, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their camp.

Here was fought a severe and bloody battle, from behind trees and bushes; the Indians with their terri-

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OTACITE—CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEES

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ble war whoops, alternately retreating and returning with double fury to the charge. The governor, undismayed, pressed closely on them with his provincials; drove them from their territory; pursued them over Savannah river; and thus expelled them from the province.

In this Indian war, nearly four hundred of the inhabitants of Carolina were slain. The Yamasees, after their expulsion, went directly to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were hospitably received.

OTACITE, CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEES.

In the invasion of Georgia by the Spaniards, in 1743, many Indians were drawn into the controversy, on both sides. Toeanoewi, or Tooanohowi, a nephew of Tomochichi, was shot through the right arm, in an encounter with the Spaniards, by a Spanish captain. Tooanohowi drew his pistol with his left hand, and shot the captain through the head.

Thus, with the Spaniards upon one hand, and the English upon the other and the French in the midst of them, the Creeks and Cherokees became subject to every possible evil to which the caprice of those several nations gave rise. In 1723, a chief, whose name we find in writers of that day, Wootassitaw, Woosatassate, Wootassitau, Wrosetasatow, &c., is styled "Governor of the Lower and Middle Settlements of the Charikees." He is presumed to be the same with Otacite, or Otassite, one of the prisoners above enumerated, and from what we are about to relate of him, his eminence will be apparent. In 1721, Francis Nicholson went over as governor of South Carolina,

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who was said to have been very successful in managing affairs with the Indians. Soon after his arrival, the Cherokees despatched messengers to Charleston to adjust some difficulties which had for some time existed; and, not long after, another more full and complete deputation arrived. Governor Nicholson opened the council by a long speech to "Wootassite, King, and to the heads of the lower and Middle Settlements of the Cherokee Nations."

In the course of his speech, he observes, that, when they delivered their acknowledgements and paid their submisssion to the government, "the other day," they had made mention of 37 towns that had sent down their chiefs for that purpose, and wished to be satisfied that these towns were represented, that his words might be carried to all their inhabitants. After laying much stress on their submission and respect to the king of England, he speaks thus sensibly upon their trading with the whites, which at the same time discovers to us the origin of former troubles.

After ordering that if either party injured the other, restitution should be made by the aggressor, he says, "Frequent complaints have been made that your people have often broke open the stores belonging to our traders, and carried away their goods; and also pillaged several of their packs, when employed and entrusted to carry them up; and restitution has never been made which are great faults: We therefore recommend to you, to take all possible precautions to prevent such ill practices for the future," &c. "And to prevent any injury or misunderstanding, we have passed a law, which appoints commissioners that are

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to go twice a year to the Congaree, or Savana garrison, to hear and redress all grievances."

"Woosatasate being a man in great esteem amongst you, having given frequent testimonies of his affection and firm adherence to this government, and being appointed king over you by the former governor of this province; so I, who am sent immediately from his majesty, having the same regard to so deserving a man and in compliance with your own request, that I would constitute proper commanders over you, do now declare the said Woosatasate, your leader and commander in chief over all the lower settlements of the Cherokees, and give him a commission for that office, under the broad seal of this his Majesty's province," &c. "I expect that you, Woosatasate, do, within a month after your return, call together all the chief men in your district, and that you make them thoroughly acquainted with what I now say to you, and require of you, and shall give directions, that all the Englishmen amongst you, shall be at that meeting. That your ancient government may be restored, I recommend to you to keep your young men in that due decorum they used to be."

NUMBER OF INDIANS IN 1620.

With regard to the number of Indians inhabiting our country, at the time of the arrival of the European settlers, no correct estimate can be made; but, according to the estimate of Dr. Turnbull, they could not much exceed 150,000 within the compass of the thirteen original states. It is believed that they were formerly much more numerous, particularly on the Ohio river and its branches, and in New England.

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TECUMSEH.

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TECUMSEH.

Tecumseh, by birth a Shawanee, and brigadier general in the army of Great Britain, in the war of 1812, was born about 1770, and, like his great prototype, Pometacom, the Wampanoag, seems always to have made his aversions to civilization appear a prominent trait in his character; and it is not presumed that he joined the British army, and received the red sash and other badges of office, because he was fond of imitating the whites; but he employed them, more probably, as a means of inspiring his countrymen with that respect and veneration for himself which was so necessary in the work of expulsion, which he had undertaken.

The first exploit in which we find Tecumseh engaged was upon a branch of Hacker's Creek, in May, 1792. With a small band of warriors, he came upon the family of John Waggoner, about dusk. They found Waggoner a short distance from his house, sitting upon a log, resting himself after the fatigues of the day. Tecumseh directed his men to capture the family, while himself was engaged with Waggoner. To make sure work, he took deliberate aim at him with his rifle; but fortunately he did not even wound him, though the ball passed next to his skin. Waggoner threw himself off the log, and ran with all his might, and Tecumseh followed. Having the advantage of an accurate knowledge of the ground, Waggoner made good his escape. Meanwhile his men succeeded in carrying off the family, some of whom they barbarously murdered. Among these were Mrs. Waggoner

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and two of her children. Several of the children remained a long time with the Indians.

This persevering and extraordinary man had made himself noted and conspicuous in the war which terminated by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. He was brother to that famous impostor the Prophet, and seems to have joined his views just in season to prevent his falling into entire disrepute among his own followers. His principal place of rendezvous was near the confluence of the Tippecanoe with the Wabash, upon the north bank of the latter. This tract of country was none of his, but had been possessed by his brother the Prophet, in 1808, with a motley band of about 1000 young warriors from among the Shawanees, Delawares, Wyandots, Potowatomies, Ottowas, Kikkapoos and Chippeways. The Miamies were very much opposed to this intrusion into their country, but were not powerful enough to repel it, and many of their chiefs were put to death in the most barbarous manner, for remonstrating against their conduct. The maladministration of the Prophet, however, in a short time, very much reduced his numbers, so that in about a year, his followers consisted of but about 300, and these in the most miserable state of existence. Their habits had been such as to bring famine upon them; and but for the provisions furnished by General Harrison, from Vincennes, starvation would doubtless have ensued. At this juncture, Tecumseh made his appearance among them; and although in the character of a subordinate chief, yet it was known that he directed every thing afterwards, although in the name of the Prophet. His exertions now became immense to en-

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gage every tribe upon the continent in a confederacy, with the open and avowed object of arresting the progress of the whites.

Agreebly to the directions of the government, Governor Harrison purchased of the Delawares, Miamies, and Potowatomies, a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up the river 60 miles above Vincennes. This was in 1809, about a year after the Prophet settled with his colony upon the Wabash, as before stated. Tecumseh was absent at this time, and his brother, the Prophet, was not considered as having any claim to the country, being there without the consent of the Miamies. Tecumseh did not view it in this light, and at his return was exceedingly vexed with those chiefs who had made the conveyance; many of whom, it is asserted, he threatened with death. Tecumseh's displeasure and dissatisfaction reached Governor Harrison, who despatched a messenger to him, to state "that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be solid, that the land would either be given up, or an ample compensation made for it." This, it must be confessed, was not in a strain to soothe a mighty mind, when once justly irritated, as was that of Tecumseh. However, upon the 12th of August, 1810, (a day which cannot fail to remind the reader of the fate of his great archetype, Philip, of Pokanoket,) he met the governor in council at Vincennes, with many of his warriors; at which time he spoke to him as follows:—

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"It is true I am a Shawanee. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I only take my existence; from my tribe I take nothing. I am the maker of my own fortune; and oh! that I could make that of my red people, and of my country, as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Spirit that rules the universe. I would not then come to Gov. Harrison, to ask him to tear the treaty, and to obliterate the landmark; but I would say to him, Sir, you have liberty to return to your own country. The being within, communing with past ages, tells me, that once, nor until lately, there was no white man on this continent. That it then all belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse it, to enjoy its productions, and to fill it with the same race. Once a happy race. Since made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. The way, and the only way to check and to stop this evil, is, for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet, for it never was divided, but belongs to all, for the use of each. That no part has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers; those who want all, and will not do with less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians, because they had it first; it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all is not valid. The late sale is bad. It was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all. All red men have equal rights to the

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unoccupied land. The right of occupancy is as good in one place as in another. There cannot be two occupations in the same place. The first excludes all others. It is not so in hunting or traveling; for there the same ground will serve many, as they may follow each other all day; but the camp is stationary, and that is occupancy. It belongs to the first who sits down on his blanket or skins, which he has thrown upon the ground, and till he leaves it no other has a right."

How near this is to the original is unknown to us, but it appears too much Americanized to correspond with our notions of Tecumseh; nevertheless it may give the true meaning. One important paragraph ought to be added, which we do not find in the author from which we have extracted the above; which was, "that the Americans had driven them from the sea-coasts, and that they would shortly push them into the lakes, and that they were determined to make a stand where they were." This language forcibly reminds us of what the ancient Britons said of their enemies, when they besought aid of the Romans. "The barbarians (said they) drive us to the sea, and the sea beats us back upon them; between these extremes we are exposed, either to be slain with the sword, or drowned in the waves."

Tecumseh, having thus explained his reasons against the validity of the purchase, took his seat amidst his warriors. Governor Harrison, in his reply, said, "that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent, had found the Miamies in the occupation of all the country on the Wabash, and at

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that time the Shawanees were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamies, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues in their heads, but have taught them all to speak a language that all could understand. That the Miamies found it for their interest to sell a part of their lands, and receive for them a further annuity, the benefit of which they had long experienced, from the punctuality with which the seventeen fires [the seventeen United States] complied with their engagements; and that the Shawanees had no right to come from a distant country and control the Miamies in the disposal of their own property." The governor then took his seat, and the interpreter proceeded to explain to Tecumseh what he had said, who, when he had nearly finished, suddenly interrupted him, and exclaimed, "*It is all false;*" at the same time giving to his warriors a signal, they seized their war clubs, and sprung upon their feet, from the green grass on which they had been sitting. The governor now thought himself in imminent danger, and, freeing himself from his arm-chair, drew his sword, and prepared to defend himself. He was attended by some officers of his government, and many citizens, more numerous than the Indians, but all unarmed; most of whom, however, seized upon some weapon, such as stones and clubs. Tecumseh continued to make gestures and speak with great emotion; and a guard of 12 armed men stationed by

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governor in the rear were ordered up. For a few minutes, it was expected blood would be shed. Maj. G. R. Floyde, who stood near the governor, drew his dirk, and Winnemak cocked his pistol, which he had ready primed; he said Tecumseh had threatened his life for having signed the treaty and sale of the disputed land. A Mr. Winas, the Methodist minister, ran to the governor's house, and, taking a gun, stood in the door to defend the family.

On being informed what Tecumseh had said, the governor replied to him, that "he was a bad man—that he would have no further talk with him—that he must return to his camp, and set out for his home immediately." Thus ended the conference. Tecumseh did not leave the neighborhood, but, the next morning, having reflected upon the impropriety of his conduct, sent to the governor to have the council renewed, and apologized for the affront offered; to which the governor, after some time, consented, having taken the precaution to have two additional companies of armed men in readiness, in case of insult.

Having met a second time, Tecumseh was asked whether he had any other grounds, than those he had stated, by which he could lay claim to the land in question; to which he replied, "No other." Here, then, was an end of all argument. The indignant soul of Tecumseh could not but be enraged at the idea of an "equivalent for a country," or, what meant the same thing, a *compensation* for land, which, often repeated, as it had been, would soon *amount to a country!* "The behavior of Tecumseh, at this interview, was very different from what it had been the day before.

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His deportment was dignified and collected, and he showed not the least disposition to be insolent. He denied having any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white men" to do as he had done; that two white men had visited him at his place of residence, and told him that half the white people were opposed to Governor Harrison, and willing to relinquish the land, and told him to advise the tribes not to receive pay for it; for that the governor would soon be put out of office, and a "good man" sent in his place, who would give up the land to the Indians. The governor asked him whether he would prevent the survey of the land: he replied that he was determined to adhere to the *old boundary*. Then arose a Wyandot, a Kikkapoo, a Pottowattomie, an Ottowas, and a Winnebago chief, each declaring his determination to stand by Tecumseh, whom they had chosen their chief. After the governor had informed Tecumseh that his words should be truly reported to the president, alleging, at the same time, that he knew the land would not be relinquished, and that it would be maintained by the sword, the council closed.

The governor wished yet to prolong the interview, and thought that, possibly, Tecumseh might appear more submissive, should he meet him in his own tent. Accordingly he took with him an interpreter, and visited the chief in his camp the next day. The governor was received with kindness and attention, and Tecuseh conversed with him a considerable length of time. On being asked by the governor if his determination really was as he had expressed himself in the council, he said, "Yes;" and added, "that it was

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with great reluctance he would make war with the United States—against whom he had no other complaint, but their purchasing the Indians' land; that he was extremely anxious to be their friend, and if he (the governor) would prevail upon the president to give up the lands lately purchased, and agree never to make another treaty, without the consent of all the tribes, he would be their faithful ally, and assist them in all their wars with the English," whom he knew were always treating the Indians like dogs, clapping their hands and hallocing *stu-boy;* that he would much rather join the seventeen fires; but if they would not give up said lands, and comply with his request in other respects, he would join the English. When the governor told him there was no probability that the president woud comply, he said, "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope that the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head, to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his own town, and drink his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out." He had said before, when asked if it were his determination to make war unless his terms were complied with, "*It is my determination; nor will I give rest to my feet, until I have united all the red men in the like resolution.*"

Thus is exhibited the determined character of Tecumseh, in which no duplicity appears, and whose resentment might have been expected, when questioned, again and again, upon the same subject. Most religiously did he prosecute this plan; and could his extraordinary and wonderful exertions be known, no

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fiction, it is believed, could scarcely surpass the reality. The tribes to the west of the Mississippi, and those about Lakes Superior and Huron, were visited and revisited by him previous to the year 1811. He had raised in these tribes the high expectation that they should be able to drive the Americans to the east of the Ohio. The famous Blue-jacket was as sanguine as Tecumseh, and was his abettor in uniting distant tribes.

The following characteristic circumstance occurred at one of the meetings at Vincennes. After Tecumseh had made a speech to Governor Harrison, and was about to seat himself in a chair, he observed that none had been placed for him. One was immediately ordered by the governor, and, as the interpreter handed it to him, he said, "Your father requests you to take a chair." "*My father?*" says Tecumseh, with great indignity of expression, "*the sun is my father, the earth is my mother; and on her bosom I will repose;*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

The fight at Tippecanoe followed soon after. This affair took place in the night of Nov. 6, 1811, in which 62 Americans were killed, and 126 wounded. Tecumseh was not in this fight, but his brother, the Prophet, conducted or ordered the attack. During the action, he was performing conjurations on an eminence not far off, but out of danger. His men displayed great bravery, and the fight was long and bloody. Harrison lost some of his bravest officers. The late Colonel Snelling, of Boston, then a captain, was in this fight, and took prisoner with his own hands an Indian chief

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the only Indian taken by the Americans. The name of the captured chief we did not learn, but from his fear of being taken for a Shawanee, it is evident he was not of that tribe. When he was seized by Capt. Snelling, he ejaculated, with hurried accents, "*Good man, me no Shawanee.*" The chiefs White-lion (Wapamangua,) Stone-eater (Sanamahhonga,) and Winnemak, were conspicuous at this time. The latter had been the pretended friend of the governor, but now appeared his enemy. He was killed the next year by the lamented Logan.

Just before hostilities commenced, in a talk Governor Harrison had with Tecumseh, the former expressed a wish, if war must follow, that cruelty to prisoners should not be allowed on either side. Tecumseh assured him that he would do all in his power to prevent it; and it is believed he strictly adhered to this resolution. Indeed, we have one example, which has never been called in question, and is worthy the great mind of this chief. When Colonel Dudley was cut off, and nearly 400 of his men, not far from Fort Meigs, by falling into an ambush, Tecumseh arrived at the scene of action when the Americans could resist no longer. He exerted himself to put a stop to the massacre of the soldiers, which was then going on; and meeting with a Chippeway chief who would not desist by persuasion nor threats, he buried his tomahawk in his head.

It is said that Tecumseh had been in almost every important battle with the Americans, from the destruction of General Harmar's army till his death upon the Thames. He was under the direction of General

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Proctor, in this last great act of his life, but was greatly dissatisfied with his course of proceedings, and is said to have remonstrated against retreating before the Americans in very pointed terms. Perry's victory had just given the Americans the command of Lake Erie; and immediately after, Proctor abandoned Detroit, and marched his majesty's army up the River Thames, accompanied by General Tecumseh, with about 1500 warriors. Harrison overtook them near the Moravian town, Oct. 5, 1813, and, after a bloody battle with the Indians, routed and took prisoners nearly the whole British army; Proctor saving himself only by flight. After withstanding almost the whole force of the Americans for some time, Tecumseh received a severe wound in the arm, but continued to fight with desperation, until a shot in the head by an unknown hand laid him prostrate in the thickest of the fight. Of his warriors 120 were left dead upon the field of battle.

Thus fell Tecumseh, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was about five feet ten inches in height, of a noble appearance, and a perfectly symmetrical form. "His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eyes penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of *hauteur* in his countenance, which arose from an elevated pride of soul. It did not leave him even in death." He is thus spoken of by one who knew him.

At the battle of the Thames, a chief by the name of Shane served as a guide to Colonel Johnson's regiment. He informs us that he knew Tecumseh well, and that he once had his thigh broken, which not being properly set, caused a considerable ridge in it always after. This was published in a Kentucky

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newspaper, lately, as necessary to prove that the Indian killed by Colonel Johnson was Tecumseh. From the same paper it would seem, that, even on the day of battle, it was doubted by some whether the chief killed were Tecumseh, and that a critical inquest was held over his body; and although it was decided to be he, yet to the fact that the colonel killed him, there was a demur, even then. But, no doubt, many were willing it should so pass, thinking it a matter of not much consequence, so long as Tecumseh, their most dreaded enemy, was actually slain; and, perhaps, too, so near the event, many felt a delicacy in dissenting from the report of Colonel Johnson's friends; but when time had dispelled such jealousy, those came out frankly with their opinion, and hence resulted the actual truth of the case.

But another writer has the following language:— "The British were assisted by a body of 1200 or 1500 Indian warriors, led on by Tecumseh, a celebrated Indian chieftain. Upon the left, the onset was begun by Tecumseh, with great fury. He was opposed by Col. Johnson, of Kentucky. The Indians seemed determined to conquer or die. The terrible voice of Tecumseh was heard encouraging his warriors; although beset on every side, they fought with determined courage. Col. Johnson now rushed towards the spot, where the savage warriors were gathering around their undaunted chieftian. In a moment a hundred rifles were aimed at the American, the balls pierced his dress and accoutrements, and himself and his horse received a number of wounds. At the instant his horse was about to fall under him, he was discovered

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DEATH OF TECUMSEH.

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by Tecumseh; having discharged his rifle, he sprang forward with his tomahawk; but, struck with the appearance of the brave man before him, he hesitated for a moment, and that moment was his last. Col. Johnson levelled a pistol at his breast, and they both, almost at the same instant, fell to the ground. Col. Johnson's men now rushed forward to his rescue, and the Indians, hearing no longer the voice of their chief, soon fled.

"Thus fell Tecumseh, and with him fell the last hope of our Indian enemies. Since the year 1790 he had been in almost every engagement with the whites; he was a determined enemy to the attempts to civilize the Indians, and had for years endeavored to unite the tribes in opposing the progress of the settlements of the whites, any farther to the westward. On the opening of the last war he visited many tribes, and by his uncommon eloquence and address, roused his countrymen to arms against the United States. Tecumseh had received the stamp of greatness from the hand of nature, and had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have shone as one of the most distinguished men. He was endowed with a powerful mind, and with the soul of a hero. There was an uncommon dignity in his countenance and manners, and by the former he could be easily distinguished, even after death, among the slain, for he wore no insignia of distinction."

That the American soldiers should have dishonored themselves, after their victory, by outraging all decency by acts of astonishing ferocity and barbarity upon the lifeless body of the fallen chief, is grievous to mention,

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and cannot meet with too severe condemnation. Pieces of his skin were taken away by some of them as mementoes! It is said he bore a personal enmity to Gen Harrison, at this time, for having just before destroyed his family. The celebrated speech, said to have been delivered by the great "Shawanees warrior" to Gen. Proctor, before the Battle of the Thames, is believed by many not to be genuine. It may be seen in every history of the war, and every periodical of that day, and not a few since, even to this. Therefore we omit it here. The speech of Logan, perhaps, has not circulated wider. Another, in our opinion more worthy the mighty mind of Tecumseh, published in a work said to be written by one who heard it, is now generally (on the authority of a public journal) discarded as a fiction.

Among the skirmishes between the belligerents before General Hull surrendered the north-western army, Tecumseh and his Indians acted a conspicuous part.

Malden, situated at the junction of Detroit River with Lake Erie, was considered the Gibraltar of Canada, and it was expected that General Hull's first object would be to possess himself of it. In a movement that way, Colonel M'Arthur came very near being cut off by a party of Indians led by Tecumseh. About 4 miles from Malden, he found a bridge in possession of a body of the enemy; and although the bridge was carried by a force under Colonel Cass, in effecting which, 11 of the enemy were killed, yet it seems, that in a "few days afterwards" they were in possession of it again, and again the Americans stood ready to repeat the attack. It was in an attempt to reconnoitre,

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that Colonel M'Arthur "advanced somewhat to near the enemy, and narrowly escaped being cut off from his men" by several Indians who had nearly prevented his retreat.

Major Vanhorn was detached on the 4th of August from Aux Canards, with 200 men, to convey 150 Ohio militia and some provisions from the River Raisin. In his second day's march, near Brownstown, he fell into an ambush of 70 Indians under Tecumseh, who, firing upon him, killed 20 men; among whom were Captains M'Culloch, Bostler, Gilcrease, and Ubry: 9 more were wounded. The rest made a precipitate retreat.

Major Vanhorn having failed in his attempt, Colonel Miller was sent on the 8th of August, with 600 men to protect the same provisions and transports. The next day, August 9th, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the vanguard, commanded by Captain Snelling, was fired upon by an extensive line of British and Indians, at the lower end of the village of magaugo, 14 miles from Detroit. The main body was half a mile in the rear when the attack began. Captain Snelling maintained his position in a most gallant manner, under a heavy fire, until the line was formed and advanced to his relief. The force against which the Americans were now contending was made up of a body of 500 Indians under Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-water, Marpot, and the famous Black-hawk, and a considerable number of whites under Major Muir. They were formed behind a breastwork of felled trees. When Colonel Miller had brought his men into line, the enemy sprang from their hiding-places, and formed in line of battle,

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and a fierce and appalling strife ensued. The British and Indian force was one third greater than the American, but nothing could withstand them, when led on by such officers as Miller and Snelling, and the ground was disputed inch by inch for near two miles, to the village of Brownstown. Here the British took to their boats, and the Indians to the woods, and thus the battle closed. It was owing to a disobedience of orders on the part of the cavalry, that the British escaped entire destruction; for Colonel Miller ordered them to rush upon them and cut them up when their guns were unloaded, and their ranks were in confusion, but they would not although Captain Snelling offered to lead them in person. In this affair the Indians and British lost 100 killed and 200 wounded, and the Americans had 18 killed and 58 wounded.

A British writer upon the late war, after having related the battle of the Thames, in which Tecumseh fell, says: "It seems extraordinary that General Harrison should have omitted to mention, in his letter, the death of a chief, whose fall contributed so largely to break down the Indian spirit, and to give peace and security to the whole north-western frontier of the United State. Tecumseh, although he had received a musket-ball in the left arm, was still seeking the hottest of the fire," when he received the mortal wound in the head, of which he in a few moments expired. The following descriptions, though in some respects erroneous, are of sufficient value to be preserved.

Tecumseh was endowed "with more than the usual stoutness, and possessed all the agility and perseverance of the Indian character. His carriage was dignified;

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his eye penetrating; his countenance, which, even in death, betrayed the indications of a lofty spirit, rather of the sterner cast. Had he not possessed a certain austerity of manners, he could never have controlled the wayward passions of those who followed him to battle. He was of a silent habit; but, when his eloquence became roused into action by the reiterated encroachments of the Americans, his strong intellect could supply him with a flow of oratory, that enabled him, as he governed in the field, so to prescribe in the council. Those who consider that, in all territorial questions, the ablest diplomatists of the United States are sent to negotiate with the Indians, will readily appreciate the loss sustained by the latter in the death of their champion. The Indians, in general, are full as fond as other savages of the gaudy decoration of their persons; but Tecumseh was an exception.—Clothes and other valuable articles of spoil had often been his; yet he invariably wore a deerskin coat and pantaloons. He had frequently levied subsidies, to comparatively, a large amount; yet he preserved little or nothing for himself. It was not wealth, but glory, that was Tecumseh's ruling passion. Fatal day! when the 'Christian people' first penetrated the forests, to teach the arts of 'civilization' to the poor Indian. Till then water had been his only beverage, and himself and his race possessed all the vigor of hardy savages. Now, no Indian opens his lips to the stream that ripples by his wigwam, while he has a rag of clothes on his back, wherewith to purchase rum; and he and his squaw and his children wallow through the day, in beastly drunkenness. Instead of the sturdy

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warrior, with a head to plan, and an arm to execute, vengeance upon the oppressors of his country, we behold the puny, besotted wretch, squattiug on his hams, ready to barter his country, his children, or himself, for a few gulps of that deleterious compound, which, far more than the arms of the United States, [Great Britain and France,] is hastening to extinguish all traces of his name and character. Tecumseh, himself, in early life, had been addicted to intemperance; but no sooner did his judgment decide against, than his resolution enabled him to quit, so vile a habit. Beyond one or two glasses of wine, he never afterwards indulged."

It was said not to be from good will to the Americans, that he would not permit his warriors to exercise any cruelty upon them, when fallen into their power, but from principle alone. When Detroit was taken by the British and Indians, Tecumseh was in the action at the head of the latter. After the surrender, General Brock requested him not to allow his Indians to ill-treat the prisoners; to which he replied, "*No! I despise them too much to meddle with them.*"

Some of the English have said that there were few officers in the U. States' service so able to command in the field as Tecumseh. This it will not us behove to question; but it would better have become such speech makers, if they had added, "in his peculiar mode of warfare." That he was a more wily chief than Mishikinakwa, may be doubted; that either had natural abilities inferior to those of General Wayne, or General Brock, we see no reason to believe. But this is no argument that they could practice European

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warfare as well as those generals. It is obvious, from his intercourse with the whites, that Tecumseh must have been better skilled in their military tactics than most, if not all, of his countrymen, whether predecessors or contemporaries.

A military man, as we apprehend, says, "He [Tecumseh] was an excellent jugde of position, and not only knew, but could point out the localities of the whole country through which he had passed." "His facility of communicating the information he had acquired, was thus displayed before a concourse of spectators. Previously to General Brock's crossing over to Detroit, he asked Tecumseh what sort of a country he should have to pass through in case of his proceeding farther. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm-bark, and extending it on the ground by neans of four stones, drew forth his scalping-knife, and with the point presently etched upon the bark a plan of the country, its hills, woods, rivers, morasses, and roads; a plan which, if not as neat, was, for the purpose required, fully as intelligible as if Arrowsmith himself had prepared it. Pleased with this unexpected talent in Tecumseh, also with his having, by his characteristic boldness, induced the Indians, not of his immediate party, to cross the Detroit, prior to the embarkation of the regulars and militia, General Brock, as soon as the business was over, publicly took off his sash, and placed it round the body of the chief. Tecumseh received the honor with evident gratification, but was, the next day, seen without his sash. General Brock, fearing something had displeased the Indian, sent his interpreter for an explanation. The latter soon returned with an account

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ELLSKWATAWAH.—The Shawnee Prophet.

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that Tecumseh, not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction, when an older, and, as he said, abler, warrior than himself was present, had transferred the sash to the Wyandot chief Round-head."

The place of this renowned warrior's birth was upon the banks of the Scioto River, near what is now Chillicothe. His father's name was Pukeesheno, which means *I light from flying*. He was killed in the battle of Kanhawa, in 1774. His mother's name was Meetheetashe, which signifies, *a turtle laying her eggs in the sand*. She died among the Cherokees. She had, at one birth, three sons:—Ellskatawa, which signifies, *a door opened*, was called the Prophet; Tecumseh, which is, *a tiger crouching for his prey;* and Kumskaka, *a tiger that flies in the air*.

In 1826, the only surviving son of Tecumseh, whose name is Puchethei, which signifies *crouching or watching his prey*, left the Ohio to settle beyond the Mississippi. This son, when his father was slain, was fighting by his side. "The prince regent," says Mr. James, "in 1814, out of respect to the memory of the old, sent out as a present to the young Tecumseh a handsome sword;" and then closes this paragraph with this most savage lamentation: "Unfortunately, however, for the Indian cause and country, faint are the prospects that Tecumseh the son will ever equal in wisdom or prowess, Tecumseh the father."

ELLSKWATAWA.

Although we have given some important facts in the life of this impostor, there are some circumstances which claim to be related. After the termination of

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the war of 1812, he received a pension from the government of Great Britain, and resided in Canada. In 1826, he was prevailed upon to leave that country, and went with others, to settle beyond the Mississippi. At the same time also went the only surviving son of Tecumseh.

Much has been said and written about the Prophet; and, as is generally the case, the accounts vary, in proportion to their multiplicity. From a well-written article in a foreign periodical, it is said that, during the first 50 years of his life, he was remarkable for nothing except his stupidity and intoxication. In his 50th year, while in the act of lighting his pipe, he fell back in his cabin, upon his bed; and, continuing for some time lifeless, to all appearances, preparations were made for his interment; and it was not until the tribe was assembled, as usual on such occasions, and they were in the act of removing him, that he revived. His first words were, "*Don't be alarmed. I have seen heaven. Call the nation together, that I may tell them what has appeared to me.*" When they were assembled, he told them that two beautiful young men had been sent from heaven by the Great Spirit, who spoke thus to him:—The Great Spirit is angry with you, and will destroy all the red men: unless you refrain from drunkenness, lying, and stealing, and turn yourselves to him, you shall never enter the beautiful place which we will now show you." He was then conducted to the gates of heaven, from whence he could behold all its beauties, but was not permitted to enter. After undergoing several hours' tantalization, from extreme desire of participating in its indescribable joys and plea-

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sures, he was dismissed. His conductors told him to tell all the Indians what he had seen; to repent of their ways, and they would visit him again. My authority says, that, on the Prophet's visiting the neighboring nations, his mission had a good effect on their morals, &c. But this part of his story, at least, is at variance with facts; for none would hear to him, except the most abandoned young warriors of those tribes he visited and their miserable condition in colonizing themselves upon the Wabash, in 1811, is well known.

There was an earthquake said to have taken place in the Creek country, in December, 1811. The Prophet visited the Creeks in the previous August, and "pronounced in the public square, that shortly a lamp would appear in the west, to aid him in his hostile attack upon the whites, and, if they would not be influenced by his persuasion, the earth would ere long tremble to its centre. This circumstance has had a powerful effect on the minds of these Indians, and would certainly have led them, generally, to have united with the northern coalition, had it not been for the interposition of travelers." This statement was made by a Mr. Francis M'Henry, in the Georgia Journal, to contradict that ever any such earthquake did take place, and by which we learn that that part of the superstitious world really believed that it had, and that places had been actually sunk. The same communicant says, "I have only to state that I have comfortably reposed in houses where newspapers have announced every disappearance of earth." He states also, upon the authority of "a Mr. Chadbury, an English gentleman, from Quebec," that, "at the age of

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CAPTAIN JAMES LOGAN.

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15 this Indian disappeared from his relatives, and was considered as finally lost. That he strolled to Quebec, and from thence to Montreal, where, taken as a pilot to Halifax, he remained several years; and in this space received an education quallifying him to act the part already known." The comet of 1811 was viewed by many, throughout the country, as a harbinger of evil, and it was upon this seeming advantage that the Prophet seized to frighten his red brethren into his schemes.

He was said to have been killed on the 18th of Nov., 1812, when the Mississinaway towns were destroyed on the Wabash by a detachment under Col. Campbell; but this was only a rumor of the day.

LOGAN.

Logan was a great Shawanee chief, who was more brave than fortunate. He was no connection of Logan of 1774, but was equally great, and, in the hands of a Jefferson, would have been equally celebrated. Shortly after General Tupper's expedition to the Miami Rapids, Captain James Logan, as he was called by the English, was sent by General Harrison in the direction of those rapids, with a small party of his tribe, to recconnoitre. He met with a superior force of the enemy near that place, by which he was so closely pursued that his men were obliged to break and flee for safety in the true Indian manner. Logan, with two of his companions, Captain John and Brighthorn, arrived safe at Gen. Winchester's camp. When he gave an account here of what had happened, accusers in the army stood ready to charge him with

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treachery, and a design of aiding the enemy. He felt the false charge with cutting severity, but without any inclination for revenge. On the contrary, he determined to prove by some unequivocal announcement that he was not thus to be taken as a spy.

Accordingly, on the 22d of Nov., with the two men above named, he set out, resolved either to bring in a prisoner or a calp, or to hazard his life in the attempt. When he had proceeded down the Miami about 10 miles, on the north side, he met with Captain Elliot, accompanied by five Indians. As this party was too strong for Logan and his two brave companions, four of them being on horseback, he therefore determined to pass them, pretending to be of the British party, and advanced with confident boldness and a friendly deportment. But it unfortunately happened, that the noted Winnemak, of whom mention has been made in the life of Tecumseh, and who had fought at the head of the Pottowattomies in the battle of Tippecanoe, knew him and denounced him as a spy. Logan however persisted that he was the friend of the British, and was then on his way to the Rapids to give information of the situation of the Americans. After conversing a while, he proceeded on his way, and Winnemak, with his companions, turned and followed with him. Winnemak and his party closely watched the others, and when they had proceeded about eight miles, he proposed to Captain Elliot to seize and tie them; but he said it was not necessary, for if they attempted to escape they could be shot down, or easily run down with their horses. Logan, overhearing this, communicated it to his companions, and it was agreed

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to make an attack upon them, although there were five to three. Until now, Logan had intended to go on with them till night, and then escape.

No sooner was the resolution taken than the fight began. When they had all fired three rounds apiece, the advantage was in favor of the three; having driven their adversaries a considerable distance, and cut them off from their horses. Elliot and Winnemak had both fallen mortally wounded, and a young Ottowa chief was killed. Towards the close of the fight, both Logan and Bright-horn were badly wounded. As soon as Logan was shot, he ordered a retreat, and, seizing the enemies' horses, they effected it to Winchester's camp. Captain John escaped unhurt, and after taking the scalp of the Ottowa chief, followed, himself, and arrived there the next morning.

Logan had now indeed established his reputation, but he lost his life! His wounds proved mortal two days after. In General Winchester's letter to General Harrison, he says, "More firmness and consummate bravery have seldom appeared on the military theatre." "He was buried with all the honors due to his rank, and with sorrow as sincerely and generally displayed as ever I witnessed." Thus wrote Major Hardin to Governor Shelby:—

"His physiognomy was formed on the best model, and exhibited the strongest marks of courage, intelligence, good-humor and sincerity. He had been very serviceable to our cause, by acting as a pilot and a spy. He had gone with General Hull to Detroit, and with the first Kentucky troops who marched for the relief of Fort Wayne."

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Winnemak, while in conversation with Logan before the fight, declared that he commanded all the Indians in that quarter; and boasted that he had caused the massacre of Wells and those who had surrendered at the battle of Chicago, after having gone with Wells, as a friend, to guard the garrison of that place to Fort Wayne.

In 1786, General Logan, of Kentucky, took Logan, then a boy, prisoner, and kept him some time. After sending him to school till he had acquired considerable education, he gave him his liberty and his own name. He was ever afterwards friendly to the whites. His mother was own sister to Tecumseh and the Prophet. He said that in the summer preceding his death, he had talked a whole night with Tecumseh, trying to persuade him against fighting against the States; but Tecumseh urged him as strongly to join the British. His wife (probably before she was known to Logan) was taken prisoner by Col Hardin, in 1789, and had remained in his family until the treaty of Greenville. In the army Logan had formed an attachment to Major Hardin, son-in-law of General Logan, whom, before he died, he requested to see that what was due him for his services should be faithfully paid over to his family, which was done. His family resided at Wapoghoognata, which was called Logan's village.

PAWNEE BARBARITY.

That the tribes west of the Missouri, and beyond the pale of the ordinary influence of civilization, should retain some shocking customs, which, if ever prevalent among more favored tribes east of the Mississippi and

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the Alleghenies, have long disappeared, may be readily conceived. Wild, erratic bands, who rove over immense plains on horseback, with bow and lance, who plunge their knives and arrows daily into the carcasses of the buffalo, the elk, and the deer, and who are accustomed to sights of blood and carnage, cannot escape the mental influence of these sanguinary habits, and must be, more or less, blunted in their conceptions and feelings. Where brute life is so recklessly taken, there cannot be the same nice feeling and sense of justice, which some of the more favored tribes possess, with respect to taking away human life. Yet, it could hardly have been anticipated, that such deeds as we are now called upon to notice, would have their place even in the outskirts of the farther "Far West," and among a people so sunk and degraded in their moral propensities, as the Pawnees, But the facts are well attested.

In the fierce predatory war carried on between the Pawnees and Sioux, acts of blood and retaliation, exercised on their prisoners, are of frequent occurrence. In the month of February, 1838, the Pawnees captured a Sioux girl only fourteen years of age.—They carried her to their camp on the west of the Missouri, and deliberated what should be done with her. It is not customary to put female captives to death, but to make slaves of them. She, however, was doomed to a harder fate, but it was carefully concealed from her, for the space of some sixty or seventy days. During all this time she was treated well, and had comfortable lodgings and food, the same as the rest enjoyed. On the 22nd of April, the chiefs held

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a general council, when it broke up, it was announced that her doom was fixed, but this was still carefully concealed from her. This doom was an extraordinary one, and so far as the object can be deduced, from the circumstances and ceremonies, the national hatred to their enemies was indulged, by making the innocent non-combatant, a sacrifice to the spirit of corn, or perhaps, of vegetable fecundity.

When the deliberations of the council were terminated, on that day, she was brought out, attended by the whole council, and accompanied on a visit from lodge to lodge, until she had gone round the whole circle. When this round was finished, they placed in her hands a small billet of wood and some paints. The warriors and chiefs then seated themselves in a circle. To the first person of distinction she then handed this billet of wood and paint; he contributed to this offering, or sort of sacrificial charity some wood and paint, then handed it to the next, who did likewise, and he passed it to the next, until it had gone the entire rounds, and each one had contributed some wood and some paint. She was then conducted to the place of execution. For this purpose they had chosen an open grassy glade, near a cornfield, where there were a few trees. The spot selected was between two of these trees, standing about five feet apart, in the centre of which a small fire was kindled, with the wood thus ceremoniously contributed. Three bars had been tied across, from tree to tree, above this fire, at such a graded height, that the points of the blaze when at its maximum, might just reach to her feet. Upon this scaffold she was compelled to

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mount, when a warrior at each side of her held fire under her arm-pits. When this had been continued as long as they supposed she could endure the torture, without extinguishing life, at a given signal, a band of armed bow men let fly their darts, and her body at almost the same instant, was pierced with a thousand arrows. These were immediately withdrawn, and her flesh then cut with knives, from her thighs, arms, and body, in pieces not longer than half a dollar, and put into little baskets. All this was done before life was quite extinct.

The field of newly planted corn reached near to this spot. This corn had been dropped in the hill, but not covered with earth. The principal chief then took of the flesh, and going to a hill of corn. squeezed a drop of blood upon the grains. This was done by each one, until all the grains put into the ground, had received this extraordinary kind of sprinkling.

This horrible cruelty took place in the vicinity of Council Bluffs. Offers to redeem the life of the prisoner had been made by the traders, in a full council of eighty chiefs and warriors, but they were rejected. The original narrator was an eye witness. He concludes his description by adding, that his wife's brother, a Pawnee, had been taken prisoner by the Sioux, in the month of June following, and treated in the same manner. Truly, it may be said that the precincts of the wild roving Red man, are "full of the abodes of cruelty."

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LOGAN—A MINGO CHIEF.

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LOGAN OF 1774.

This unfortunate chief, better known to the world by the eloquent and pathetic speech which he has left as a record of his misfortunes and sorrows, than by his exploits in war, was of the Mingo or Cayuga tribe. His father, Shikellimus, was a personal friend of the benevolent James Logan, the friend of William Penn, and the founder of the Loganian Library, at Philadelphia. The name of the son was probably derived from this person. During the war with the French, when the Indian confederates, under the guidance of Pontiac, threatened the northwestern settlements with extermination, Logan refused to take up arms against the whites, to whom he was attached by the most friendly feelings, and exerted himself as a peace-maker. He became known, throughout all the neighboring tribes, as the white man's friend, and continued on terms of the most perfect amity with all the western settlers till the year 1774, when his friendship was requited with a series of acts of such barbarous and wanton cruelty, as rendered him at once a most vindictive and implacable enemy to the whole civilized race. Few portions of the history of the red men afford events more tragical and affecting than the fate of the unhappy Logan.

In the month of April, 1774, while the Indian tribes on the northern frontier of Virginia were in a state of profound peace with their white neighbors, a rumor was circulated in that quarter that the savages had stolen the horses of some land-jobbers on the Ohio and Kenhawa. This report, although unsupported by any good evidence, seems to have created a general

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belief or suspicion that the Indians meditated hostilities against the settlements. In consequence of this impression, the land-jobbers collected in a body at Wheeling, where, in a few days, they received intelligence that a canoe with a few Indians was coming down the Ohio. A man, called Captain Michael Cresap, who seems to have acted as commander of the party, proposed to ascend the river and kill the Indians. There were at that time not the slightest indications of hostility on the part of the savages, except what could be gathered from the report above mentioned. Colonel Zane, one of the settlers, strongly objected to the proposal, representing to Cresap, very justly, that such an act, besides being an atrocious murder, which would disgrace forever all concerned in it, must inevitably bring on a war, in which torrents of innocent blood would be shed. Unfortunately, this reasonable and humane council did not prevail. Cresap, with a detachment of the party, went up the river. On their return they were asked what had become of the Indians. They coolly replied that they had fallen overboard. On examining their canoe, it was found bloody and pierced with bullets. The fate of the unoffending natives was but too evident. This was the first blood shed in a war which brought the most terrible vengeance on the heads of the aggressors.

Having thus got a taste of blood, Cresap indulged his appetite for slaughter without scruple or restraint. The same evening, hearing of an encampment of Indians in the neighborhood below, he proceeded down the river, fell upon them while they were totally

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unsuspicious of any hostile design, and killed a number of them. In neither of these cases did the whites pretend any provocation for their murders. Cresap's atrocities were soon imitated by another blood-thirsty wretch named Daniel Greathouse. He collected a company of thirty-two men, and proceeded to the mouth of yellow Creek, opposite which a large number of Indians had encamped. Greathouse concealed his men in an ambuscade, and crossed the river to learn the number of the savages. He went round among them, estimated their strength, and found that they were too numerous to be openly attacked. It happened that the Indians had heard of the murders committed by Cresap, and began to talk of revenge. Greathouse knew nothing of his danger till one of the squaws came to him and advised him to go home, for the Indians were drinking, and, being angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, they might do him mischief.

He accordingly made the best of his way back, and consulted with his party how to ensnare the Indians by a stratagem, as an open assault was too hazardous. It was determined to invite a portion of them across the river, and get them intoxicated, by which means their whole body might be massacred, piecemeal. This was accordingly done; a number of the Indians, male and female, accepted the invitation of the whites to drink rum, crossed the river, and after being well plied with liquor, were all barbarously murdered in cold blood, with the exception of one little girl. The Indians in the camp heard the firing, and, as was expected sent off two canoes with armed warriors.

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The whites lay in ambush on the bank of the river, and received them with a deadly fire, which killed the greater part, and forced the survivors to return, A great number of shots were exchanged across the stream, but none of the whites were killed or even wounded. Their conduct throughout this bloody affair was attrocious and brutal. They scalped their victims, one of whom was the very female who had given Greathouse the friendly caution when he visited the camp.

The whole of the family of Logan perished in these wanton massacres; in the last, were his brother and sister, the latter in a delicate situation, which aggravated the enormity of the crime, and augments our sympathy for the fate of the unfortunate victim. It will excite the wonder of no man, that Logan from this moment breathed nothing but vengeance against the treacherous and inhuman whites. A general Indian war immediately followed. Logan was the foremost in leading his countrymen to the slaughter of their perfidious enemies. On the twelfth of July, with a party of only eight warriors, he attacked a settlement on the Muskingum, captured two prisoners and carried them off. When they arrived at an Indian town, they delivered them to the inhabitants, who instantly prepared to put them to death in torture. Logan, however, in the heat of his vindictive feelings, displayed the humanity of his nature. He cut the cords of one of the prisoners who was about to be burnt at the spake, and saved his life. This man was afterward adopted into an Indian family, and became Logan's scribe.

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A chief, named Cornstalk, was the leader of the Indians in this war. Large bodies of warriors were collected, and they abandoned the usual mode of savage warfare, and, instead of making petty incursions upon the settlements, they resolved to meet the whites in the open field, with a strong army, and give them battle in their own way. This new scheme of military tactics, however, they had not the skill to follow up with success, and the contest was brought to a close much more speedily than would have been the case, had the savages pursued their old method of hostilities. The whites, everywhere along the frontier, abandoned their settlements, and either fled from the scene of warfare, or took shelter in the forts. Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, ordered out the militia, and an army of three thousand men was equipped for the campaign. One half this force, under the command of Colonel Lewis, marched toward the mouth of the Great Kanhawa, and the other division, under Dunmore, proceeded toward the Indian towns on the Ohio, with the design of destroying them in the absence of the warriors, who were drawn off by the approach of Lewis's army.

At Point Pleasant, on the Great Kanhawa, a sanguinary battle was fought on the 10th of October 1774, between Lewis's army and the combined forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares. The two armies were about equal in numbers. The action commenced a little after sunrise, by a furious attack from the Indians, who drove in the advanced body of three hundred Virginians, with great slaughter. The main body coming up, the fight was re-

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newed, and continued with the utmost obstinacy through the day. The Indians, with great military skill and calculation, had completely invested their opponents, who were hemmed in upon a point of land at the junction of the Kanhawa and Ohio rivers, having the Indian line of battle in their front, and no possibility of a retreat in any direction. Cornstalk commanded the savage forces, and this tawny son of the forest distinguished himself in all his manœuvres throughout the engagement, by the skill as well as the bravery of a consummate general. During the whole of the day, his stentorian voice was heard throughout the ranks of his enemies, vociferating, "*Be strong! be strong!*" After an incessant fire for twelve hours, darkness put an end to the conflict. The Virginians lost one hundred and forty killed and wounded; the loss of the Indians was about the same.

The Indians retreated the next day, and shortly afterward made proposals for peace. Logan, who had fought with great bravery throughout the war, refused to be a suppliant on the occasion. Cornstalk, with eight other chiefs, visited the camp of Lord Dunmore, to open negotiations, but Logan remained at his cabin in sullen seclusion, refusing to meet the whites. He was too distinguished a personage to be neglected in this important matter, and a messenger was sent to him to inquire whether the proposals for peace met his approbation. Under these circumstances he delivered the celebrated speech to which he owes his reputation. According to the best authenticated accounts, after shedding an abundance of tears for

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the loss of his friends, he addressed the messenger in the following language:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that this is the joy of *fear*. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?——Not one!"

Every reader has been touched with the simple eloquence and pathos of this famous speech. Mr. Jefferson has indulged in no exaggeration in asserting, that neither Greek, Roman, nor modern oratory has any passage that surpasses it. Logan's affecting appeal to the white men will be longer remembered than any other existing specimen of Indian rhetoric.

We are acquainted with few more particulars of the history of this unfortunate chief. It is mournful to state, that his great qualities became obscured, late

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in life, by indulgence in that vice which has been the mos fatal scourge of his race—intemperance. He fell by assassination on a journey homeward from Detroit.

THE LITTLE SPIRIT OR, BOY-MAN.

(*An Odjibwa Fairy Tale.*)

There was once a little boy remarkable for the smallness of his stature. He was living alone with his sister older than himself. They were orphans, they lived in a beautiful spot on the Lake shore, many large rocks were scattered around their habitation. The boy never grew larger as he advanced in years. One day, in winter, he asked his sister to make him a ball to play with along shore on the clear ice. She made one for him, but cautioned him not to go too far. Off he went in high glee, throwing his ball before him, and running after it at full speed; and he went as fast as his ball. At last his ball flew to a great distance: he followed it as fast as he could. After he had run for some time, he saw four dark substances on the ice straight before him. When he came up to the spot he was surprised to see four large, tall men lying on the ice, spearing fish. When he went up to them, the nearest looked up and in turn was surprised to see such a diminutive being, and turning to his brothers, he said, "Tia! look! see what a little fellow is here." After they had all looked a moment, they resumed their position, covered their heads, intent in searching for fish. The boy thought to himself, they imagine me too insignificant for common courtesy, because they are tall and large; I shall teach

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them notwithstanding, that I am not to be treated so lightly. After they were covered up the boy saw they had each a large trout lying beside them. He slyly took the one nearest him, and placing his fingers in the gills, and tossing his ball before him, ran off at full speed. When the man to whom the fish belonged looked up, he saw his trout sliding away as if of itself, at a great rate—the boy being so small he was not distinguished from the fish. He addressed his brothers and said, "See how that tiny boy has stolen my fish; what a shame it is he should do so." The boy reached home, and told his sister to go out and get the fish he had brought home. She exclaimed, "where could you have got it? I hope you have not stolen it." "O no," he replied, "I found it on the ice." "How" persisted the sister, "could you have got it there?"—"No matter," said the boy, "go and cook it." He disdained to answer her again, but thought he would one day show her how to appreciate him. She went to the place he left it, and there indeed she found a monstrous trout. She did as she was bid, and cooked it for that day's consumption. Next morning he went off again as at first. When he came near the large men, who fished every day, he threw his ball with such force that it rolled into the ice-hole of the man of whom he had stolen the day before. As he happened to raise himself at the time, the boy said, "Neejee, pray hand me my ball." "No indeed," answered the man, "I shall not," and thrust the ball under the ice. The boy took hold of his arm and broke it in two in a moment, and threw him to one side, and picked up his ball, which had bounded back from un-

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der the ice, and tossed it as usual before him. Outstripping it in speed, he got home and remained within till the next morning. The man whose arm he had broken hallooed out to his brothers, and told them his case, and deplored his fate. They hurried to their brother, and as loud as they could roar threatened vengeance on the morrow, knowing the boy's speed that they could not overtake him, and he was near out of sight; yet he heard their threats and awaited their coming in perfect indifference. The four brothers the next morning prepared to take their revenge. Their old mother begged them not to go—"Better" said she "that only one should suffer, than that all should perish, for he must be a monedo, or he could not perform such feats." But her sons would not listen; and taking their wounded brother along, started for the boy's lodge, having learnt that he lived at the place of rocks. The boy's sister thought she heard the noise of snow-shoes on the crusted snow at a distance advancing. She saw the large, tall men coming straight to their lodge, or rather cave, for they lived in a large rock. She ran with great fear, and told her brother the fact. He said, "Why do you mind them? give me something to eat." "How can you think of eating at such a time," she replied,—"Do as I request you, and be quick." She then gave him his dish, which was a large *mis-qua-dace* shell, and he commenced eating. Just then the men came to the door, and were about lifting the curtain placed there, when the boy-man turned his dish upside-down, and immediately the door was closed with a stone; the men tried hard with their clubs to crack it; at length they

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succeeded in making a slight opening. When one of them peeped in with one eye, the boy-man shot his arrow into his eye and brain, and he dropped down dead. The others, not knowing what had happened their brother, did the same, and all fell in like manner; their curiosity was so great to see what the boy was about. So they all shared the same fate. After they were killed the boy-man told his sister to go out and see them. She opened the door, but feared they were not dead, and entered back again hastily, and told her fears to her brother. He went out and hacked them in small pieces, saying, "henceforth let no man be larger than you are now." So men became of the present size. When spring came on, the boy-man said to his sister, "Make me a new set of arrows and bow." She obeyed, as he never did any thing himself of a nature that required manual labor, though he provided for their sustenance. After she made them, she again cautioned him not to shoot into the lake; but regardless of all admonition, he, on purpose, shot his arrow into the lake, and waded some distance till he got into deep water, and paddled about for his arrow so as to attract the attention of his sister. She came in haste to the shore, calling him to return, but instead of minding her he called out, "Ma-mis-quon-je-gun-a, be-nau-wa-con-zhe-shin," that is, "*you, of the red fins* come and swallow me." Immediately that monstrous fish came and swallowed him; and seeing his sister standing on the shore in despair, he hallooed out to her, "Me-zush-ke-zin-ance." She wondered what he meant. But on reflection she thought it must be an old mockesin. She accordingly

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tied the old mockesin to a string, and fastened it to a tree. The fish said to the boy-man, under water, "What is that floating?" the boy-man said to the fish, "Go, take hold of it, swallow it as fast as you can." The fish darted towards the old shoe, and swallowed it. The boy-man laughed in himself, but said nothing, till the fish was fairly caught; he then took hold of the line and began to pull himself and fish to shore. The sister, who was watching, was surprised to see so large a fish; and hauling it ashore she took her knife and commenced cutting it open. When she heard her brother's voice inside of the fish, saying, "Make haste and release me from this nasty place," his sister was in such haste that she almost hit his head with her knife; but succeeded in making an opening large enough for her brother to get out. When he was fairly out, he told his sister to cut up the fish and dry it, as it would last a long time for their sustenance, and said to her, never, never, more to doubt his ability in any way. So ends the story.

THE LONE LIGHTNING.

(*An Objibwa Tale.*)

A little orphan boy who had no one to care for him, was once living with his uncle, who treated him very badly, making him do hard things and giving him very little to eat; so that the boy pined away, he never grew much, and became, through hard usage, very thin and light. At last the uncle felt ashamed of this treatment, and determined to make amends for it, by fattening him up, but his real object was, to kill him by over-feeding. He told his wife to give the

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the boy plenty of bear's meat, and let him have the fat, which is thought to be the best part. They were both very assiduous in cramming him, and one day came near choking him to death, by forcing the fat down his throat. The boy escaped and fled from the lodge. He knew not where to go, but wandered about. When night came on, he was afraid the wild beasts would eat him, so he climbed up into the forks of a high pine tree, and there he fell asleep in the branches, and had an aupoway, or ominous dream.

A person appeared to him from the upper sky, and said, "My poor little lad, I pity you, and the bad usage you have received from your uncle has led me to visit you: follow me, and step in my tracks." Immediately his sleep left him, and he rose up and followed his guide, mounting up higher and higher into the air, until he reached the upper sky. Here twelve arrows were put into his hands, and he was told that there were a great many manitoes in the northern sky, against whom he must go to war, and try to waylay and shoot them. Accordingly he went to that part of the sky, and, at long intervals, shot arrow after arrow, until he expended eleven, in vain attempt to kill the manitoes. At the flight of each arrow, there was a long and solitary streak of lightning in the sky—then all was clear again, and not a cloud or spot could be seen. The twelfth arrow he held a long time in his hands, and looked around keenly on every side to spy the manitoes he was after. But these manitoes were very cunning, and could change their form in a moment. All they feared was the boy's arrows, for these were magic arrows, which had been given to him by

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RED JACKET.

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a good spirit, and had power to kill them, if aimed aright. At length, the boy drew up his last arrow, settled in his aim, and let fly as he thought, into the very heart of the chief of the manitoes; but before the arrow reached him, he changed himself into a rock. Into this rock, the head of the arrow sank deep and stuck fast.

"Now your gifts are all expended," cried the enraged manito, "and I will make an example of your audacity and pride of heart, for lifting your bow against me"--and so saying, he transformed the boy into the Nazhik-a-wa wa sun, or Lone Lightning, which may be observed in the northern sky, to this day.

RED JACKET.

Sagoyewatha, who was called Red Jacket by the whites, in consequence of his wearing such a garment when a boy, was of the Seneca tribe—one of the Six Nations. He was born about the year 1750, in the western part of the state of New York. He was of a plebeian family, and does not appear to have been gifted with military talents, yet he attained the highest distinction and influence among his tribe, solely by his powers of eloquence. Of the early part of his career, little appears to be known. After the close of the revolutionary war, a great council of the Indian nations was held at Fort Schuyler for the settlement of affairs with the American commissioners. Red Jacket distinguished himself at this council by his opposition to the general wish for peace. He delivered a speech against "burying the hatchet," and urged the continuance of the war, with such elo-

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quence and force, that the warriors were carried away by the magic of his oratory; and it was only by allowing time for the effect of it to dissipate and the temper of its auditors to cool down by sober reflection, that the more prudent and moderate of the chiefs were enabled to give a pacific turn to their deliberations.

About the year 1790, a council was held on the shore of Lake Canandaigua, to negotiate a purchase of land from the Indians. After two days spent in discussing the terms, a treaty was agreed upon, and only wanted the formality of a signature to make it complete, when Red Jacket, who had not yet been heard, arose to speak. An eye witness thus describes the scene. "With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye surveyed the multitude. All was hushed; nothing interposed to break the silence, save the gentle rustling of the tree-tops, under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice and sententious style. Rising gradually with the subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of white men, with such a bold but faithful pencil that every auditor was soon roused to vengeance or melted into tears. The effect was inexpressible. But ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by the remembrance

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of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favorite chief. Appalled and terified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of destruction. At this portentous moment, Farmer's-Brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief, but with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red Jacket, and, before the meeting had re-assembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them."

The fame of his great eloquence gained Red Jacket a powerful influence, not only in his own tribe, but among all the Six Nations of Indians. At one time he fell into discredit with his people, from what cause does not appear, and was denounced by his enemies as guilty of witchcraft. On this charge he was brought to trial, and defended himself in a speech three hours in length, which proved so effectual that he was acquitted. His reputation was greatly augmented by this occurrence. He was one of a deputation of his countrymen who visited Philadelphia, in 1792, and acted as chief spokesman in their negotiations with the governor.

He had a rooted antipathy to Christianity, which neither the lapse of time nor the persuasions of the white men could remove. He always opposed strongly the intrusion of missionaries among his people. In 1805, a missionary from Massachusetts visited Buffalo, and convened a council of the Indians, which

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comprised many of the Seneca chiefs and warriors. His purpose was to inculcate upon the savages the advantages they would derive from the introduction of Christianity among them. He delivered a discourse, in which he explained his object in calling them together. He informed them that he was sent by the great missionary society of Boston to teach them how to worship the Great Spirit, and not to defraud them of their lands and property; that there was only one true religion in the world, and unless they embraced it, they could not be happy, and that they had lived in darkness and error all their lives. He wished, if the Indians had any objection to his religion, they would state it. After he had finished, they conferred together, and appointed Red Jacket to give their answer. He addressed the missionary in a speech which we shall quote entire. It exhibits genuine Indian shrewdness, and considerable force of argument.

"Friend and brother: it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and he has given us a fine day for our council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us; our eyes are opened, that we see clearly; our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words that you have spoken; for all these favors we thank the Great Spirit, and him only.

"Brother, this council fire was kindled by you; it was at your request that we came together at this time; we have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds

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freely; this gives us great joy, for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think; all have heard your voice, and all speak to you as one man; our minds are agreed.

"Brother, you say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you: but we will first look back a little, and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

"Brother, listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He made the bear and the beaver, and their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this he had done for his red children because he loved them. If he had any disputes about hunting grounds, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. But an evil day came upon us; your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small; they found friends, and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down amongst us; we gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return. The white people had now

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found our country; tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us, yet we did not fear them, we took them to be friends; they called us brothers; we believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length, their numbers had greatly increased; they wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us; it was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

"Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were very small; you have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets; you have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

"Brother, continue to listen. You say you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind, and if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right, and we are lost; how do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book; if it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given it to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit; if there is but one reli-

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gion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion that was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship that way. It teacheth us to be thankful for all the favors we receive; to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all; but he has made a great difference between his white and red children; he has given us a different complexion, and different customs; to you he has given the arts; to these he has not opened our eyes, we know these things to be true. Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that he has given us a different religion according to our understanding. The Great Spirit does right; he knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied.

"Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion or take it from you; we only want to enjoy our own.

"Brother, you say you have not come to get our land or our money, but to enlighten our minds. I I will now tell you that I have been at your meetings, and saw you collecting money from the meeting. I cannot tell what this money was intended for, but suppose it was for your minister; and if we should conform to your way of thinking, perhaps you may want some from us.

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"Brother, we are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors; we are acquainted with them; we will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again what you have said.

"Brother, you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends."

The Senecas took part with the United States in the war of 1812. The practice of employing the savages in hostilites had always been condemned by the people of this country, but as the British government had set the example, and strengthened their armies materially by Indian auxiliaries, it began to be questioned whether such a system ought not to be turned against them. Grand Island, in the river Niagara, belonged to the Senecas, and when the British threatened to invade it, the Indians determined to take up arms in its defence. They were accordingly permitted to join the American forces on the Niagara frontier. Red Jacket was one of their leaders, and distinguished himself in an action near Fort George, on the 17th of August, 1813, in which the British and their Indian allies were defeated. The prisoners were all treated with humanity; nor was any excess committed by the savages on the American side during t e war.

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After the peace, Red Jacket professed to feel himself much annoyed by the attempts of missionaries to establish themselves among his people. In 1821, he made a formal complaint against them to the governor of New York, in a letter dictated by himself. which we have not space to copy. About the same time a squaw of the Senecas was put to death on the accusation of witchcraft. The Amercans took the matter in hand, and put the executioner on trial. Red Jacket and other witnesses testified that the woman was a witch, and had been legally tried and executed. The doctrine of witchcraft was ridiculed by the Americans, to which he made a reply, reminding them,—if we may take his recorded speech as genuine,—of the transactions at Salem. Before he was admitted to give evidence at the trial, he was questioned whether he believed in the existence of a God, and a future state of rewards and punishments. He replied with stern indignation, "*Yes! much more than the white men, if we are to judge by their actions.*" The trial was carried through three terms, and the prisoner was finally acquitted.

Red Jacket continued to enjoy great distinction to the day of his death. His residence was a log cabin situated in a lonely spot near Buffalo. Scarcely a traveler passed that way without calling to visit a chief so celebrated for his wisdom and eloquence. He understood English well, yet refused constantly to converse in it, and would not even reply to a speech till it had been translated into his own language by an interpreter. This rigid adherence to an ancient formality, reminds us of the practice of

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the English sovereigns, who continue to sanction or reject acts of parliament in the language of William the conqueror. Red Jacket died on the 20th of January, 1830.

RULING CHIEF OF THE MIAMIS.

Died, on the 13th inst. (August, 1841), at his residence on the St. Mary's, four and a half miles southwest of this city, John B. Richardville, principal chief of the Miami nation of Indians, aged about eighty years.

Chief Richardville, or "Piskewah" (which is an Indian name, meaning in English "wild-cat"), was born on the point across the Maumee river, opposite this city, under or near a large apple tree, on the farm of the late Colonel Coles; and at a very early age, by succession, became the chief of the tribe, his mother being chieftainess at the time of his birth. His situation soon brought him in contact with the whites, and he was in several engagements, the most important of which was the celebrated slaughter on the St. Joseph River, one mile north of this city, designated as "Harmar's Defeat," where several hundred whites under General Harmar, were cut off in attempting to ford the river, by the Indians, who lay in ambush on the opposite shore, by firing upon the whites when in the act of crossing; which slaughter crimsoned the river a number of days for several miles below with the blood of the unfortunate victims.

The Chief is universally spoken of as having been kind and humane to prisoners—far more so than most of his race; and as soon as peace was restored, became a worthy citizen, and enjoyed the confidence of

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the whites to the fullest extent. He spoke good French and English, as well as his native tongue; and for many years his house, which is pleasantly situated on the banks of the St. Mary's, and which was always open for the reception of friends—was a place of resort for parties of pleasure, who always partook of the hospitality of his house.

The old man was strictly honest, but remarkably watchful of his interest, and amassed a fortune exceeding probably a million of dollars, consisting of nearly $200,000 in specie on hand, and the balance in the most valuable kind of real estate, which he has distributed by "will" among his numerous relations with "even-handed justice." He had always expressed a great anxiety to live, but when he became conscious that the time of his departure was near at hand, he resigned himself with perfect composure, saying that it was ordered that all must die, and he was then ready and willing to answer the call of the "Great Spirit." His remains were deposited in the Catholic burying-ground with religious ceremonies.—*Fort Wayne (Ind.) Sentinel.*

THE GREAT SPIRIT.

The Indians of this country generally believed in a plurality of gods; yet they believed that there was one Supreme God, or *Great Spirit*. Him the natives of New England called Kichtan. They believed that good men, at death, ascended to Kichtan, above the heavens, where they enjoyed their departed friends and all good things; that bad men also went and knocked at the gate of glory, but Kichtan bade them depart, for there was no place for such, whence they wandered in restless poverty.

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PONTIAC—CHIEF OF THE OTTAWAS.

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PONTIAC.

Was the chief of the Ottawas, a tribe which, during the lifetime of this renowned leader, inhabited the country in the neighborhood of Detroit. The Ottawas were the oldest and most powerful tribe in that region, and Pontiac exercised a sort of imperial sway over his neighboring sovereigns. A traveler, who visited that country about the year 1760, mentions him in the following terms: "Pontiac is their present king or emperor, who has certainly the largest empire and greatest authority of any Indian chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. He puts on an air of majesty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honored and revered by his subjects." During the wars between the French and English, in North America, Pontiac adhered constantly to the French interest, and the histories of the time represent his enmity to the former as so deep-seated and inveterate, that the conclusion of peace between the two nations could not for some time mitigate his hostile temper. Courageous, enterprising, subtle and ambitious, he was reluctant to abandon the depredations which he had systematically carried on against his old enemies, and his thoughts were devoted to a scheme for combining all the tribes which were under his influence into a grand league for the extirpation of the English. After Quebec had been captured from the French, an expedition was despatched by the British general, under Major Rogers, against the French posts in the Indian country. On reaching Pontiac's dominions, Rogers was met by that chief-

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tain, who, in an authoritative manner, demanded his business, and asked how he dared to enter his territory without permission from himself, the "king and lord of the country." Rogers informed him that he had no hostile design against the Indians, but only wished to expel the French, who were their common enemies, and the cause of all their troubles. Pontiac replied with a peremtory prohibition against his further advance, couched in the following laconic style: "I stand in the path you travel in till to-morrow morning." However, he condescended to interchange presents with the British commander, and very civilly inquired whether he was in want of supplies for his men. The next day a quantity of parched corn and other provisions were furnished for their use, and paid for by the British. Pontiac now assumed a more friendly air, smoked the pipe of peace with his guest, and assured him that he might pass through his country unmolested, and displace the French garrisons. Rogers had much conversation with him, and was struck with the evidence of his sagacity, and his desire for knowledge. He wished to be made acquainted with the English mode of war, to know how their arms and accoutrements were provided, and how their clothing was manufactured. Rogers attempted to persuade him to submit to the authority of the king of England. Pontiac replied, that he would not acknowledge him as his superior, though he was willing to call him *uncle*, and to make him a present of furs. He expressed a willingness to grant favors to the English and allow them to settle in his country, but upon the express condition that they

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should consider themselves under his authority; and he assured them, in plain terms, that, in case they acted in opposition to his will, he would "shut up the way, and keep them out." During the stay of Rogers and his detachment in that quarter, they were treated as friends by Pontiac and all the tribes under his command. He even made a proposal to visit England, which country he had a strong desire to see; he offered Rogers a part of his territory, if he would take him across the Atlantic.

There seems no reasonable doubt of the sincerity of Pontiac's friendship toward the English at this period. He accompanied the troops during a considerable part of their route homeward, and was the means of preserving them from the fury of a body of Indians, who had collected near Detroit for the purpose of cutting them off. What aroused his subsequent enmity against that nation, we have no positive means of knowing; but within two or three years we find him inspired with the most hostile temper toward the English, and projecting a deep-laid and extensive scheme for their destruction. Like Philip of Pokanoket he determined to try the effect of a combination among the various tribes within his reach. In this enterprise, he displayed much sagacity, deep calculation and foresight, and his attempts were for a time crowned with such remarkable success, that he became the terror of the frontier, and the name of Pontiac attained a high degree of celebrity, not only throughout North America, but even in Europe.

By his efforts, a band of confederate nations, consisting of the Hurons, Miamis, Chippeways, Ottawas,

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Potowatamies, Missisauges and others, was organized for united action against the enemy, in 1763. Instead of openly attacking the English settlements, Pontiac formed a plan for capturing, by statagem, such of their forts and outposts as they had lately acquired by the treaty with France. One of the most important of these was Michilimackinac, a fortress situated upon an island in the strait between lakes Michigan and Huron, and which, down to the present day, has always been considered a military station of the highest consequence. At this period of our history the fortress was surrounded by a strong stockade, and defended by a garrison of about a hundred men. It contained also about three hundred French inhabitants. Pontiac aimed his first blow at this place; and the artifice and cunning which were exhibited on the occasion, were such as to entitle the capture of Michilimackinac to a conspicuous rank in the history of military stratagems. There was a game played by the Indians, called *baggatiway*, which is practised with a bat and ball. Two posts are set in the ground, a mile or farther apart. Two parties take possession of the posts, and each endeavors to throw the ball up to the post of the adversary. In this endeavor, the ball is tossed in all directions, and the game is attended by all the shouting and turbulence natural to rude athletic sport. The whole stratagem being well matured, a large body of Indians resorted to Michilimackinac, under the pretence of trade or curiosity. No indications had yet appeared of a hostile disposition on their part, and the garrison were entirely unsuspicious of a plot, although Major Etherington,

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the commander, was advised to be upon his guard, by a person who had heard a rumor of some treacherous design then in meditation against the English.

On the 4th of June, 1763, the birth-day of the king of England, above four hundred Indians had collected round the fort, and began the game of *baggatiway*. The English officers went to look on, for their amusement. In the height of the game, as had been previously agreed, the Indians struck the ball over the stockade, as if by accident. A few of them rushed in to recover it. This was repeated a second and a third time, to lull suspicion, the Indians running in and out in tumultuous laughter, and, to appearance, entirely absorbed in their sport. Having, in this manner, put the sentry at the south gate completely off his guard, and collected a large crowd at that spot, they made a sudden rush, poured in at the gate, and took possession of the fort before the garrison could make a movement for its defence. Seventy of the soldiers were put to death; and the Indians apprehending no danger from the resistance of the remainder, spared their lives. Many of them were afterwards ransomed at Montreal, at high prices. The Indians also made prisoners of another party of English, who arrived in a boat a few days afterward, and ignorant of the capture of the place.

Pontiac was not present at the taking of Michilimackinac, but the scheme was of his planning. The leader of the band was a chief, named Menehwehna. Pontiac, seeing his first blow at Michilimackinac crowned with success, immediately took the field, and opened the campaign on a large scale. In about a

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fortnight, he had taken possession of every fort in the west, except three. Thus, eleven of the English strong posts, extending from Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, to Michilimackinac, remained in his hands. These rapid successes entitled him to the name of the Napoleon of the Indians. The financial policy of this sagacious leader appears evidently to have been borrowed from the Europeans, and we may admire the ingenuity of the unlettered savage, who issued bills of credit with all the regularity and system of a British exchequer. Pontiac appointed a commissary, and raised funds to carry on the war, by pledging his royal credit. His bills were drawn on birch bark, and bore the figure of an otter, which was his coat of arms; under this was drawn the representation of the particular article for which the bill was valid,—as a gun, a bag of corn, a deer, &c. These bills passed current among the Indians, and were faithfully redeemed after the war. The "Pontiac treasury notes," we believe, were never below par. Repudiation was unknown under savage rule in Michigan. Let the barbarian chief enjoy the full applause due to his financial honor. His modern successors might find something in his example worthy of imitation.

The only strong place in the west, remaining in the hands of the English, was Detroit, then defended by about three hundred men, under Major Gladwyn. Pontiac, by a rapid march, appeared before the place, while the garrison were yet ignorant of the fall of Michilimackinac and the subsequent hostilities. The warriors of Pontiac's party were very numerous, but

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they were so intermixed with their women and children, and carried so many commodities for trade, that no suspicion was excited. Pontiac encamped his multitude at a short distance from the fort, and sent a message to the commander, informing him that he had come to traffic, and as a preliminary, he wished to hold a parley with him, to "brighten the chain of peace" between the English and his people. Major Gladwyn consented, and the following day was appointed for the conference. Detroit was now on the point of falling a prey to the same treachery which had surprised Michilimackinac, and a more bloody and horrible massacre would have ensued; but while the crafty and dissembling savage deemed his foe already in his power, an unforseen and trivial incident fortunately caused the miscarriage of his plot, and Detroit was saved.

On the evening of that day, an Indian squaw, who had been employed by the major to make him a pair of Indian moccasins out of a curious piece of elk-skin, brought them to his quarters. The commander was so highly pleased with the workmanship, that he resolved on making a present of the moccasins to a friend, and directed her to take the remainder of the hide back, and execute another pair for himself. Ordering his servant to pay her for her work, he then dismissed her. The woman went to the door, but did not depart; and when the patrol guard took their rounds to see that the fort was clear of strangers, she was found loitering in the area, and could give no satisfactory account of her business there. On being carried into the presence of the commander, he de-

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manded why she did not depart before the gates were shut. She told him after much hesitation, that, as he had always behaved with great goodness toward her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, upon which he set so high a value. Being unable to comprehend this explanation, the major pressed her further, and, with still more reluctance, she replied, that if she took the skin away again, she should never be able to return it.

The commander now suspected that she was in the possession of some secret which she feared to divulge, and insisted on knowing the whole matter, promising her that the disclosure should not cause her any harm, but that, if it appeared important to the English, she should be rewarded for her service. Under this encouragement, she informed him that the Indians were engaged in a plot to surprise the place, massacre the garrison and inhabitants, and plunder the town. This was to be done in the following manner. All the Indians, who were to attend the council in the fort the following day, had cut their guns short, so that they could be concealed under their blankets. Pontiac, while delivering his speech to the commander, was to give a signal, by extending his belt of wampum in a particular manner, on which the Indians were to spring up, draw their guns, and fire on the major and his attendants. Having despatched them, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, who were to pass in, during the sitting of the council, under pretence of trading, but privately armed in the manner described.

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Having gathered these and further particulars of the statagem from the woman, the commander sent her off, and took immediate measures for defence. He walked round the fort the whole night, to see that every sentinel was on duty, and the utmost vigilance observed. As he traversed the ramparts on the side of the Indian camp, he heard them in boisterous merriment, all unconscious of the discovery of their plot, and indulging in festive anticipation of their bloody triumph on the morrow. With the dawn of day the troops were mustered, and every man received his instructions. Word was sent to all the traders in the town that it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the place that day, who might be inclined to plunder, and the commander advised them to have their arms ready to repel any such attempts. About the middle of the forenoon, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council-room, where the major and his principal officers, with pistols in their belts, awaited their arrival. When the number of Indians agreed upon had entered, the gates were closed. As the Indians passed along, they did not fail to observe that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, and marching about in different quarters. After taking their seats on the skins prepared for them, Pontiac asked the reason of all this extraordinary display, and remarked that it was an odd way of holding a council. He was told the men were only exercising.

Pontiac, now having his suspicions lulled, began his speech, which abounded in the strongest expressions of good will toward the English. The moment

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for giving the signal approached. Pontiac drew his wampum belt, but on the instant when his attendants made the first movements to grasp their muskets, all the English officers drew their swords half out of the scabbards, and the men made a loud clashing with their guns. Pontiac, though one of the boldest of men, immediately turned pale and trembled, and instead of making the concerted signal with the belt, delivered it in the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the command to fall upon their enemies, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet, waiting the result of this unexpected turn of affairs.

The British commander, having heard him to the conclusion, addressed Pontiac in reply. Instead of thanking the great warrior for his protestations of friendship, he put on a frowning look, and boldly pronounced him a traitor. He assured him that the English knew everything, and were fully acquainted with his villianous designs. In proof that they were acquainted with his most secret thoughts, he stepped toward the nearest Indian, and, drawing aside his blanket, exposed his shortened firelock. The savages, seeing their perfidy exposed, were stuck dumb with confusion. The commander then proceeded to tell them that, as he had given his word, when they desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he should hold his promise inviolable, though they had no right, in consequence of their treachery, to claim such an indulgence. He advised them, however, to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, in indignation at their perfidious de-

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sign, should cut them all in pieces. Pontiac had the hardihood to deny the charge of treachery, but the major would not listen to him, and immediately turned him and his men out of the fort.

Being foiled in his stratagem, the vindictive chieftain threw off the mask, and attacked the fort openly the next day. The Indians pressed the assault with great fury, and practised a variety of expedients to capture or destroy it. At one time they filled a cart with combustibles and forced it against the pickets to set them on fire. At another time they attempted to set fire to the church by shooting fiery arrows against it, but were dissuaded by a French priest, who told Pontiac that it would call down the anger of God upon him. On several occasions, they succeeded in making a breach in the defences by cutting through the stockade, but these attempts were at last counteracted by the garrison, who hewed away the timbers on the inside, and when the Indians rushed into the breach, discharged a cannon planted for the purpose, which made so terrible a slaughter that the enemy were effectually repulsed. The Indians, at length, despaired of mastering the fort by assault, and turned the siege into a blockade.

There was no other British post in the neighborhood to afford relief to Detroit, and the garrison were reduced to great distress for want of provisions. Forts Pitt and Niagara were also besieged, and all communication between the different stations was for a long time interrupted. The siege of Detroit lasted for nearly a year. On the 29th of July, a reinforcement, under Captain Dalyell, reached the place. A few

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days after, this officer, with a body of about two hundred and fifty men, made a sortie, with the design to surprise the camp of Pontiac; but that vigilant and crafty chieftain was apprized of his movements by his spies, and laid an ambush for the English, behind a picket fence, near a bridge. Just as the detachment had passed the bridge, the Indians discovered themselves and poured in so prompt and destructive a fire, that great numbers were levelled to the earth, and the whole body thrown into confusion. The Indians were vastly superior in numbers, and the English made a hasty retreat. They succeeded in making their way back to the fort, with the loss of their commander and about fifty men. The bridge where the battle was fought, retains, to this day, the name of *Bloody Bridge*. Nearly a hundred dead bodies were counted on the bridge the next morning, which entirely blocked up its passage. The savage chief ordered Captain Dalyell's head to be cut off, and set upon a post.

During the siege, Pontiac captured several vessels which attempted to relieve the garrison, and treated the crews with much cruelty. One day a schooner arrived near the fort, loaded with provisions; but finding the shores lined with enemies, she tacked about and made sail down the strait. The Indians pursued her in their canoes, and kept up so heavy a fire that they killed almost every man of her crew. At length they boarded her in great numbers, and the master, being determined not to fall alive into the hands of the savages, ordered the gunner to set fire to the magazine that they might all be blown up to-

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gether. A Huron chief of the assailing party happened to understand English enough to comprehend this order and immediately gave the alarm to the rest, on which they all rushed into their canoes and paddled off with the greatest precipitation. The crew, taking advantage of a brisk flaw of wind, which fortunately sprung up at this moment, crowded sail and ran under the guns of the fort, where the cargo was landed in safety, and Detroit was saved from famine.

The siege nevertheless continued, and the obstinate perseverence of the savage leader still cheered on his followers in their endeavors to reduce the place. But "Pontiac's war" had now fixed the serious attention of the British government, and preparations were made on a large scale for an offensive campaign against the savages. An army of three thousand men, under General Bradstreet, took the field and marched upon Detroit. Pontiac was too well aware of the superiority of the English arms, to indulge a hope of resisting, with success, so great a force as this. He immediately made overtures for an accommodation, without waiting for the arrival of Bradstreet's army. Gladwyn listened to his proposals, and a treaty was concluded on favorable terms to the English. The Indians abandoned Detroit and retired to their hunting grounds. Pontiac's war was thus brought to a close, and the tranquillity of that region remained undisturbed by savage hostilities for a long time afterwards.

From this period, Pontiac appeared entirely to have laid aside his animosity toward the English, and to have become their sincere and zealous friend. The

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government, to reward him for his new attachment, and insure a continuance of his fidelity, allowed him a valuable pension. Of the remainder of his life we find no very circumstantial relation, but we are told that his restless and intriguing spirit would not allow him to continue faithful to his new allies, even with the strong inducement of a yearly stipend, and that he fell under strong suspicions of treacherous dealing. In 1767, he was sent as an agent, by the British, to attend a council of the Illinois tribes. A faithful Indian accompanied him as a spy. Pontiac delivered a speech in the council, which discovered so much lurking hostility to the British, and was altogether of so insidious a purport, that his attendant, in a fit of passionate indignation, drew his knife as soon as he had done speaking, and stabbed him to the heart.

Pontiac was one of the most remarkable of his race for resolute courage, deep sagacity, fertile invention, and the main components of the character of a great savage warrior. He had compass of mind, judgment and forethought, equal to the conception and formation of mighty projects; but his temper appears to have been capricious, and he was not distinguished for inflexible firmness of purpose. We possess the history of the man, however, in too imperfect a shape, to allow us to scrutinize his policy with a very satisfactory result. His military talents were superior to those of Philip. Like him, he probably, at one time, brooded over a grand scheme for the total extirpation of the whites; but his superior penetration, doubtless enabled him to perceive, before the close of his career, the hopelessness of such a project. At one period, he

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urged strongly upon his people the necessity of dispensing altogether with European commodities. He advised them to have no intercourse with the whites, and to return altogether to their ancient mode of life.

An anecdote, illustrating the fearless confidence of Pontiac, reminds us of a similar one of Alexander of Macedon. A messenger had been sent to him, by Major Rogers, who carried him a present of brandy. The attendants of the chief were suspicious of a stratagem to poison him, and entreated him not to drink it. Pontiac was determined that the English should see that he could conduct himself without timidity or distrust, and boldly replied: "It is not possible that this man, who knows my love for him, and who is also sensible of the great favors I have done him, can think of taking away my life;" then, putting the cup to his lips, he drank a draught without betraying the slightest apprehension. Such are the contradictions of the Indian character. This great warrior could practise treachery himself, yet scorn to suspect it in others!



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NEAMATHLA.

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SEMINOLE AND CREEK WARS.

It has been formerly said, that nearly all the Indian wars have the same origin; and, on attentively examining the subject, it will be found that the remark has much of truth in it. The Seminoles of Florida have been found quite different from what they had been supposed. Every body had considered them a mere outcast remnant, too much enfeebled by their proximity to the whites, to be in the least dreaded in a war. Indeed, such conclusion was in perfect accordance with the accounts which were circulated among intelligent people; but the truth seems to be, people have always been misinformed on the subject, owing chiefly to the ignorance of their informers. Nor it is strange that misinformation should be circulated, when it is considered that the very agents who lived among them, and those who made treaties with them, could not give any satisfactory account as to their numbers or other circumstances. Gen. Jackson, in 1817 and 18, made an easy matter of ravaging a part of Florida. His being opposed but by very few Indians, led to the belief that there were but few in the country.

A writer has given the following facts relative to the Seminoles recently, and, as they are suited to my course of remarks, I give them in his own words:—"Shortly after the cession, [of Florida to the U. S.] a treaty was made by which the Seminoles consented to relinquish by far the better part of their lands, and retire to the centre of the peninsula,—a quarter consisting for the most part of pine barrens of the worst description, and terminating towards the south in

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unexplored and impassable marshes. When the time came for the execution of the treaty, old Neha Mathla, the head of the tribe, thought it savored too much of the cunning and whisky of the white man, and summoned his warriors to resist it. Gov. Duval, who succeeded Gen. Jackson in the chief magistracy of this territory, broke in upon his war council, deposed the war leaders, and elevated the peace party to the chieftaincies. The Seminoles retired peaceably to the territory assigned them, and old Neha Mathla retired to the Creeks, by whom he was raised to the dignity of a chief."

The next event of considerable moment in the history of the Seminoles, is the treaty of Payne's Landing. Of this affair I am able to speak in the language of the principal agent in it, on the part of the whites The individual to whom I refer, Gen. Wiley Thompson, will be particularly noticed hereafter, from the melancholy fate which he met in the progress of this war.

The Indians who consented to that treaty, by such consent agreed "to come under the protection of the United States, to give up their possessions, and remove to certain restricted boundaries in the territory, the extreme point of which was not to be nearer than 15 miles to the sea coast of the Gulf of Mexico. For any losses to which they might be subjected by their removal, the government agreed to make liberal donations, also to provide implements of husbandry, schools, &c., and pay an annuity of 5000 dollars for 20 years; besides which there were presents of corn, meat, &c. &c. It was required of the Indians that

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they should prevent absconding slaves from taking refuge among them, and they were to use all proper exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to their proper owner."

Our account next goes on to state that the harmony which existed at the conclusion of this treaty was very great, and that the Indians were so well satisfied with its provisions, "that they had a clause expressly inserted, by which the United States agent, Major Gad. Humphreys, and the interpreter, Richards, were to have each one mile square, in fee simple, as a mark of the confidence they reposed in these officers of the government."

Before this treaty was carried into effect, the Indians were intruded upon, and they gradually began to be rather slow in the delivery of the runaway negroes. Clamors were therefore loud aganist them, and difficultieis followed in quick succession, for several years. At length it was determined that the Seminoles should be, somehow or other got out of Florida, and the treaty of Payne's Landing was got up for this object.

Accordingly, in 1832, on the 9th of May, a treaty was entered into "on Ocklawaha river, known by the name of the treaty of Payne's Landing, by which they stipulated to relinquish all their possessions in Florida, and emigrate to the country allotted to the Creeks, west of the Mississippi; in consideration of which the government was to pay $15,400, on their arrival at their new home, and give to each of the warriors, women and children one blanket and one homespun frock. The whole removal was stipulated to take place within three years after the ratification."

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What object the government could have had in view by stipulating that the Indians should deliver into its hands all their cattle and horses, previous to their emigration, I know not, unless it was the intention of its agents to *speculate in stocks;* or perhaps the mode by which the Indians were to be transported, would not admit of their being transported with them. Be this as it might, we shall see that this stock affair was among the beginning of the sparks of war.

It appears that between 1832 and 1834, it had become very apparent that no removal was intended by the Indians; and it was equally apparent that those who had engaged a removal for the nation, were not the first people in it,—and, consequently, a difficulty would ensue, let the matter be urged when it would. Gen. Thompson was the government agent in Florida, and he (whether with advice or without, I am not informed) thought it best to have a talk with some of the real head men of the nation, upon the subject of removal, which he effected about a year before the time of removal expired, namely, in the fall of 1834.

Meanwhile, the chief who had been put in the place of Neamathla, by Governor Duval, had been executed, by some of the nation, for adhering to the whites, and advocating a removal beyond the Mississippi. The name of the chief executed upon this account was Hicks. To him succeeded one named Charles, or, as he is sometimes called, Charles Omathla, and he shared the same fate not long after. Nine warriors came into his council, and learning that he insisted upon a removal, shot nine bullets through his heart! No more doubtful characters were now raised to the

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chieftaincy, but a warrior, named Louis, well-known for his hostility to the whites, was made chief.

In the council which Gen. Thompson got together for the purpose of holding a talk, as has been remarked, appeared Osceola, and several other distinguished chiefs. This council was held at Fort King, and was opened by Gen. Thompson in a considerable speech, wherein he endeavored to convince the Indians of the necessity of a speedy removal; urging, at the same time, that their own safety, as well as that of their property, required it; and requested their answer to the subject of his discourse, which he presented in form of propositions. "The Indians retired to private council, to discuss the subject, when the present young and daring chief Aceola (Powell) [Osceola] addressed the council, in an animated strain, against emigration, and said that any one who should dare to recommend it should be looked upon as an enemy, and held responsible to the nation. There was something in his manner so impressive and bold, that it alarmed the timid of the council; and it was agreed, in private talk, that the treaty should be resisted. When this was made known to the agent, he made them a long and eloquent harangue, setting forth the dangers that surrounded them if they were subjected to the laws of the *pale faces*, where a red man's word could not be taken; that the whites might make false charges against them, and deprive them of their negroes, horses, lands, &c. All this time Accola was sitting by, begging the chiefs to remain firm."

It appears that Gen. Thompson, nothing discouraged at the result of the council which had been

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terminated by the wisdom of Osceola, without the slightest concurrence in any of his measures, by unceasing efforts had prevailed upon a considerable number of "chiefs and sub-chiefs to meet him afterwards and execute a writing, agreeing to comply with the treaty of 1832." This was evidently done without Osceola's consent, but its being done by some whom he had considered his partisans, irritated him exceedingly. He now saw that in spite of all he could do or say, the whites would get terms of agreement of some of the Indians; enough, at least, for a pretence for their designs of a removal.

In this state of things, Osceola remonstrated strongly with the agent for thus taking the advantage of a few of his people, who doubtless were under much greater obligation to him than to the people of the United States. Remonstrances soon grew into altercation, which ended in a *ruse de guerre*, by which Osceola was made prisoner by the agent, and put in irons, in which situation he was kept one night and part of two days. These transactions were in the end of May and beginning of June, 1835. Thus we have arrived very near the period of open hostilities and bloodshed.

From April until harvest time, preparations had gone on among the Indians, and they only waited for the whites to begin to compel a removal, when the blow should be struck. The time allowed them over and above the three years, to prepare for their journey to the prairies of the Arkansas, was spent in making ready to resist at the termination of it.

As early, however, as the 19th of June, 1835, a

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serious affray took place between some whites and Indians, at a place called Hogtown, not far from Mickasauky, in which the former were altogether the aggressors. The Indians, about seven in number, were discovered by a gang of whites, hunting, "beyond their bounds," upon whom they undertook to inflict corporeal punishment. Two of the Indians were absent when the whites came up to them, and they seized and disarmed them, and then began to whip them with cowhide whips. They had whipped four, and were in the act of whipping the fifth, when the other two Indians came up. On seeing what was going on, they raised the war-whoop and fired upon the whites, but whether they received any injury, we are not told; but they immediately returned the fire, and killed both the Indians.

Frequent signs of uneasiness had been manifested during the summer among the Indians, some of whom could not be restrained from acts of violence by the chiefs, although, it is pretty evident, such acts were against their advice. A mail-carrier was killed and robbed between St. Augustine and Camp King, and two or three houses had from time to time been broken open in different places; but it is not impossible but that these acts might have been committed by other people than Indians.

Consternation and dismay was depicted on the countenances of the bordering whites, and they began to fly from their dwellings, which were immediately destroyed by the Indians.

On the 5th of Jan., 1836, a small party, supposed to be about 30, of Indians struck a fatal blow on a

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OCEOLA.

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poor family at New River, which is about 22 miles to the north of Cape Florida. It was the family of the light-house keeper of this place, named Cooley. And what renders the case peculiarly aggravating is, that this family, like that of Clark, at Eel River near plimouth, in Philip's war, were, and had always been, on terms of great intimacy with the very Indians who destroyed them. Mr. Cooley, being absent when the attack was made, escaped the butchery.

Here the Indians found a rich booty. They carried off about 12 barrels of provisions, 30 hogs, 3 horses, 430 dollars in silver, one keg of powder, above 200 pounds of lead, and 700 dollars worth of dry goods.

A family of several persons in the neighborhood of Cooley's, witnessed the murder, and barely made their escape. Also another, that of the widow Rigley; herself, two daughters and a son; these escaped by flight to Cape Florida. Here were soon gathered about 60 persons, who had escaped from along the coast, and not being able to subsist long for want of provisions, made a signal of distress, and were soon discovered by a vessel, which took them to St. Augustine.

There was among the families who fled to save their lives about this time, one, very remarkably preserved. The family of Thomas Godfrey, viz. his wife and four female children, having escaped to a swamp unobserved, were relieved by a negro, about the end of the fourth day. This man was drawn to the spot by the moans of one of the children, whose poor famished mother could no longer give it its usual support at the breast. This negro belonged to the hostile

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Indians, and came upon these sufferers with an uplifted axe; but when he saw the children in their distress his arm was unnerved by the recollection that his own children were then in the power of the whites. He therefore came to the humane resolution of setting them at liberty, which could not be done, without great hazard, for the Indians were yet in possession of all the adjacent country; but he directed them to remain as quiet as possible until night, when he would bring them something to eat. This he did, and also brought them blankets to sleep upon. The next day a company of mounted whites dispersed the Indians, and the negro conveyed Mrs. Godfrey and her children in sight of them, and then made his escape. The husband of Mrs. Godfrey had some time before been ordered out in defence of the country.

The war having now become serious, and the Indians no longer looked upon as a despicable foe, the most melancholy forebodings were entertained for the very existence of the strongest places in Florida, and the call for protection from that quarter had become loud and frequent; but notwithstanding war had been expected all the preceding autumn, no effectual measures had been taken by the proper authorities to check the Indians in such an event. There had, however, late in December, arrived at Fort Brooke a small number of United States' troops under Major Dade, of the 4th regiment of infantry, the official account of whose operations and defeat, I give as follows, in the language of Major Belton. It should be observed, that Major Dade was detached for the relief of Gen. Clinch at Camp King, who was supposed to be in the

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most imminent danger from the Indians, and also in great want of supplies.

His despatch was dated at Fort Brooke, January 1, 1836, and proceeds as follows :—"The schooner Motto arrived on the 21st of December from Key West, with brevet Major Dade and his company, A infantry, 39 strong, with a small supply of musket-ball cartridges, after looking in at several points between the Key and this place. Being thus reinforced, I hesitated no longer to put Gardiner's company, C 2d artillery, and Frazer's company, B 3d infantry, in motion for Fort King, pursuant to Gen. Clinch's orders; which movement had been ordered on the 16th, and suspended the same day, on account of intelligence I had received of the force of the Mickasukies, and their strong position, near the forks of the Wythlacoochee. I despatched the public schooner Motto on the 23d, with Lieutenant Duncan, 2d artillery, to Key West, for a battery of two twelve-pounders, and such stores as could be serviceable; and at 6 o'clock, on the 24th, the companies, Gardiner's and Frazer's, made fifty bayonets each, by details from those companies remaining here, and with one of the two six-pounders of this post with four oxen, I had ordered to be purchased, one light wagon and ten day's provisions were put in march.

"The first halt of this commanded was at Little Hillsboro' River, seven miles from this post, the bridge of which I had reconnoitred by Indians of Emathla's band the day before. From this I heard from Major Dade pressing me to forward the six-pounder, by all means, it having been left by the failure of the team

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four miles out. I accordingly ordered the purchase of three horses and harness, and it joined the column at nine that night. On the night of the 24th, I heard that the transport with Major Mountford and company, long and anxiously expected, was in the Bay. I sent at one o'clock a letter to him, (received at daylight) by an Indian express, urging him on. He landed with his strong company on the 25th about noon, and informed me that Legate's company, under Lieut. Grayson, nearly full, must be near at hand. Of this Major Dade was informed by a gallant volunteer, Jewell, C company, 2d artillery, who had left the detachment with the news of the burning of Big Hillsboro' bridge, near which Major Dade had halted the second day, 25th. I also informed him that I was using every exertion to push on about thirteen hundred rations on pack-horses, with what ammunition could be spared. A duplicate of this was sent the next day by a young Indian, who became lame and could not overtake the column, and returned with his letters. Pr. Jewell joined Major Dade about 11 o'clock on the night of the 25th.

"In the chain of events, it is proper that I should mention, that three Tallahassee Indians came in on the evening of the 22d, and caused great excitement in Itolase Emathla's camp. They brought a talk of Inicanopas of a pacific or neutral character, or they affected it; but I believe not distinctly, until after I had made them prisoners, while in full council with Emathla's warriors, which step I considered imperative, if they were spies, and as much so if they were charged with any propositions likely to detach the

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chiefs from the treaty; or indeed by an act of self-devotion to take the scalps of Emathla, Black Dirt, and Big Warrior, faithful chiefs, who have been hunted in this way since the scalping of Charles Emathla. In a council with Emathla that night, Major Dade expressed every confidence in Indian character; and particularly upon the salutary influence of Abraham upon Micanopa. On reflection I detained two of the imprisoned Tallahassees, as hostages, and sent the youngest and best runner with letters to Gen. Clinch, and Gen. Thompson, via Inicanopa, as I could do no better, and of course, through Abraham's lands

"These letters of course involved many details; but numbers and other facts, to guard against treachery, were stated in French. The runner returned two days beyond his time, with a message from Abraham and Broken Sticks, stating my talk was good, and that I might expect him on the 30th. This we freely rendered that he would be at the attack fixed for Christmas week. A negro, his intimate, named Harry, controls the Pea Creek band of about a hundred warriors, forty miles southeast of us, who have done most of the mischief, and kept this post constantly observed, and communicate with the Mickasaukians at Wythlacoochee by means of powerful bands of Eufollahs and Alafiers, under Little Cloud, and the Alligator. In tracing Major Dade's movement, I have every reason to believe that he made on the 26th six miles, 27th to Big Wythlacoochee; on the fifth day, 28th, to the battle-ground, sixty-five miles.

"Here it may be proper to state that Major Mountford's command was ready to move on the 26th, but

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the transport, in which a company of the 2d artillery under Lieut. Grayson, unfortunately entered the wrong bay, and got into shaol water, and was not seen, or certainly heard of, till the morning of thé 28th of December, when, by sending a party with a flag as a signal, Lieut. Grayson was put in possession of instructions, and landed his company at a point four miles west of us, on the east side of Tampa Bay [proper] and joined at sunset that evening; his transport did not get round to land his baggage till the 30th; so long an interval as to put all hope of junction out of the question, and Major Mountford's baggage was unladed.



Massacre of Dade's Command.

"Now it becomes my melancholy duty to proceed to the catastrophe of this fated band, an elite of energy, patriotism, military skill, and courage. On the 29th, in the afternoon, a man of my company, John Thomas, and temporarily transferred to C company,

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second artillery, came in, and yesterday Pr. Ransom Clark, of same company, with four wounds very severe, and stated, that an action took place on the 28th, commencing about 10 o'clock, in which every officer fell, and nearly every man. The command entrenched every night, and about four miles from the halt, were attacked, and received at least fifteen rounds before an Indian was seen. Major Dade and his horse were both killed on the first onset, and the interpreter, 'Louis.' Lieut. Mudge, third artillery, received his mortal wound the first fire, and afterwards received several other wounds. Lieut. Basenger, third artillery, was not wounded till after the second attack; and, at the latter part of that, he was wounded several times before he was tomahawked. Capt. Gardiner, second arrtillery, was not wounded until the second attack, and at the last part of it. Mr. Basenger, after Capt. Gardiner was killed, remarked, "I am the only officer left; and boys, we will do the best we can." Lieut. Keays, third artillery, had both arms broken the first shot; was unable to act, and was tomahawked the latter part of the second attack, by a negro. Lieut. Henderson had his left arm broken the first fire, and after that, with a musket, fired at least thirty or forty shot. Dr. Gatlin was not killed until after the second attack, nor was he wounded; he placed himself behind the breastwork, and with two double-barreled guns, said, "he had four barrels for them." Capt. Frazier fell early in the action with the advanced guard, as a man of his company, B third artillery, who came in this morning, wounded, reports.

"On the attack they were in column of route and after

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receiving a heavy fire from the unseen enemy, they then rose up in such a swarm, that the ground, covered, as was thought, by light infantry extension, showed the Indians between the files. Muskets were clubbed, knives and bayonets used, and parties were clenched; in the second attack, our own men's muskets from the dead and wounded, were used against them; a cross-fire cut down a succession of artillerists at the fence, from which forty-nine rounds were fired; the gun-carriages were burnt, and the guns sunk in a pond; a war-dance was held on the ground. The survivors were preserved by imitating death, excepting Thomas, who was partly stifled, and bought his life for six dollars, and in his enemy recognized an Indian whose axe he had helved a few days before at this post. About one hundred Indians were well mounted, naked, and painted. The last man who came in brought a note from Capt. Frazier, addressed to Major Mountford, which was fastened in a cleft stick, and stuck in a creek, dated, as is supposed, on the 27th, stating that they were beset every night, and pushing on.

F. S. Belton, *Capt. 2d Artillery.*"

Such was the fate of Major Dade and his gallant companions. Osceola was present, as was the old chief Micanopy. Of the latter, it is said, he had, in the beginning of the troubles, avowed that *he would neither leave his country, nor would he fight;* but when the force under Major Dade approached his town, he altered his resolution, seized his rifle, and shot that officer.

The situation of affairs, at this period cannot better

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be described than in the language of a gentleman attached to Major Mountford's command, stationed at Fort Brooke, and is contained in a letter, dated on the first day of the year:—"We are," says he, "really in the theatre of war of the most horrible kind. We arrived here on Christmas day, and found the inhabitants flying in from all quarters to camp. Maj. Dade, with seven officers and 110 men, started, the day before we arrived, for Fort King. We were all prepared to overtake them the next day, and were upon the eve of departure, when an intervention of circumstances deferred it for one day; and in the course of that day, three soldier, horribly mangled, came into camp, and brought the melancholy tidings that Major Dade and every officer and man, except themselves, were murdered and terribly mangled. We are at work, night and day, entrenching ourselves in every possible manner. We expect every moment to be attacked, as the savages have sworn we should all be massacred before the 6th of January. We are only about 200 strong, with officers and men, and about 50 citizens, and 100 friendly Indians, under their chief, Black Dirt. The savages are said to number 4000."

After the arrival of Gen. Gaines in Florida, he ordered a detackment, under Capt. Hitchcock, to visit the battle-ground of Major Dade. And when he had performed his orders, he gave the following report of that distressing spectacle. His report is dated "Fort King, Florida, Feb. 22, 1836," and is addressed to General Gaines, as follows:—"Agreeably to your directions, I observed the battle-ground, six or seven miles north of the Ouithlecoochee river, on the 28th of

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Dade and his command were destroyed by the Semi nole Indians, on the 28th of Dec. last, and have the honor to submit the following report:—

"The force under your command, which arrived at this post to-day from Tampa Bay, encamped, on the night of the 19th inst., on the ground occupied by Major Dade on the night of the 27th of December. He and his party were destroyed on the morning of the 28th of December, about four miles in advance of that position. He was advancing towards this post, and was attacked from the north, so that on the 20th inst. we came on the rear of his battle-ground, about nine o'clock in the morning. Our advanced guard had passed the ground without halting, when the General and his staff came upon one of the most appalling scenes that can be imagined. We first saw some broken and scattered boxes; then a cart, the two oxen of which were lying dead, as if they had fallen asleep, their yokes still on them; a little to the right, one or two horses were seen. We then came to a small enclosure, made by felling trees in such a manner as to form a triangular breastwork for defence. Within the triangle, along the north and west faces of it, were about thirty bodies, mostly mere skeletons, although much of the clothing was left upon them. These were lying, almost every one of them, in precisely the position they must have occupied during the fight,—their heads next to the logs over which they had delivered their fire, and their bodies stretched, with striking regularity, parallel to each other. They had evidently been shot dead at their posts, and the Indians had not disturbed them, except by taking the

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scalps of most of them. Passing this little breastwork, we found other bodies along the road, and by the side of the road, generally behind trees, which had been resorted to for covers from the enemy's fire. Advancing about two hundred yards further, we found a cluster of bodies in the middle of the road. These were evidently the advanced guard, in the rear of which was the body of Major Dade, and, to the right, that of Capt. Frazier.

"These were all doubtless shot down on the first fire of the Indians except, perhaps, Capt. Frazier, who must however, have fallen very early in the fight. Those in the road, and by the trees, fell during the first attack. It was during a cessation of the fire, that the little band still remaining, about thirty in number, threw up the triangular breastwork, which, from the haste with which it was constructed, was necessarily defective, and could not protect the men in the second attack.

"We had with us many of the personal friends of the officers of Major Dade's command; and it is gratifying to be able to state, that every officer was identified by undoubted evidence. They were buried, and the cannon, a six-pounder, that the Indians had thrown into a swamp, was recovered, and placed vertically at the head of the grave, where, it is to be hoped, it will long remain. The bodies of the non-commissioned officers and privates were buried in two graves; and it was found that every man was accounted for. The command was composed of eight officers, and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates. The bodies of eight officers and ninety-eight

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men were interred,—four men having escaped, three of whom reached Tampa Bay; the fourth was killed the day after the battle.

"It may be proper to observe, that the attack was not made from a hammock, but in a thinly wooded country; the Indians being concealed by palmetto and grass, which has since been burned.

There has been occasion already pretty fully to sketch the character of the chief generally called Powell by the whites, but whose real name is Osceola, or Oseola. This chief has shown himself to be, thus far, equal to the desperate cause in which he is engaged. We, at a distance from the Indians, marvel that they should be so short-sighted as not to see that to wage a war is only to hasten their ruin; but, when we thus reflect, we do not consider the scanty information which the Indians have of the real strength of the whites. Our means of getting a knowledge of the Indians, is incalculably greater than theirs is of getting a knowledge of us. They cannot read, neither can they converse (or but very few of them) with intelligent white men; therefore, that they know much less of us than we do of them, must be very apparent. They know nothing of geography. If an Indian, in the interior of Florida, should be told that New England was a great place, without considerable trouble he could not be made to understand whether it were a great town, as large as a village of 50 wigwams in his own country, or as large as the whole of Florida. We learn every thing of this nature by comparison; and how shall the Indian comprehend our terms, but by comparing them with his own? Hence it is owing,

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mainly, to the unavoidable ignorance of the Indians of our actual condition, that induces them to hazard a war with us. I know, from the best authority, that the western Indians, previous to Black Hawk's war, were generally of the opinion that they were far more numerous than the whites; and when a trader told them they certainly were not, they laughed at him with scornful gestures. We have no reason to believe the Florida Indians any better informed; and, besides, they are cheated and baffled so often by knaves who go among them for that purpose, that they imagine all the whites to be of the same character, and they cannot tell whether a talk really comes from their great father, the president, or whether some imposter be cheating them with one of his own, to get their lands for his particular benefit.

With this view of the case before us, it will not appear altogether unaccountable that a daring chief, like Osceola, should engage in a war. He is said not to be a chief by birth, but has raised himself by his courage and peculiar abilities to that station. His father is said to have been an Englishman, and mother a Creek woman. He belongs to the Red Stick tribe In person he is slender, but well formed, muscular, and capable of enduring great fatigue; is an excellent tactician, and an admirer of order and discipline. He would frequently practise military maneuvers with the whites, and none of them, it was observed, could excel him. His complexion is rather light, deep restless eyes, clear and shrill voice, and not more than about 35 years of age. He is said to have conducted in person every important action from the time of War-

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JUMPER.

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ren's defeat to the battle of the Ouithlecoochee. Gen. Thompson imprisoned him, as we have before related, because he would not acknowledge his authority, and for asserting that the country was the Indians', "that they wanted no agent, and he had better take care of himself."

Of old Micanopy as well as Osceola I have already had occasion to speak. He was said to have joined the latter with 500 men; he is a short, thick-set, "ugly looking Indian, and much given to intoxication," *Jumper* is Micanpy's chief counsellor, and a warrior of great perseverance, activity, and courage. We shall now take up the narrative of events in the order of their occurrence, and the next of importance was the massacre near Camp King, which happened on the same day, but at a latter hour than the destruction of the detachment under Major Dade.

Osceola, it will be remembered, had been roughly treated at this place, not many months before, and had been by coercion obliged to comply with the demands of Mr. Agent Thompson, about a removal, &c. He was known afterwards to declare that Thompson should pay with his life for his conduct. Accordingly, with a small band of warriors, at noon day on the 28th of December, he approached Camp King for this avowed purpose. Thompson resided here, and was in the employ of the United States' government, as agent for the removal of the Seminole Indians, and other affairs concerning them. He was a man of considerable consequence, and had formerly, it is believed, been a member of congress. Whether it was his usual custom to dine out of the fort, we are not

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informed, but on this fatal day, it seems, he, with nine other gentlemen, met at the store house of Mr. Rogers, which was but 250 yards from the fort, and while seated at dinner there, they were attacked by Osceola; and what was remarked, at the time, as very singular, was, that those people should be beset and slain, and all scalped, within reach of two six-pound cannon then mounted upon the fort, which was garrisoned with fifty men; but such are the facts upon record.

Mr. Rogers was sitting at the head of his table, and the first intimation of the presence of Indians was a volley of, as was judged, 100 guns. The door of the house being open, nothing prevented the deadly aim of the foe, who, after the first discharge, rushed upon the house with savage fury. Those who were not killed jumped out of the windows, on each side, and fled; five, who ran to the fort, escaped; the others, in running for a hammock near by, were shot down. The negro woman, a cook, ran behind the counter and hid behind a barrel. Osceola, at the head of his warriors, rushed into the house, but did not discover her, and immediately left it. The names of the five that were killed, were, General Thompson, Lieut. Constantine Smith, Erastus Rogers, sutler, a Mr. Suggs and Hitzler. Fifteen bullets were found to have been shot through General Thompson, and sixteen through Mr. Rogers. Their heads were scalped all over, as far as the hair extended.

Bloody events now followed each other in quick succession. We have seen that upon the same day happened the two massacres last related, and scarcely had the news of them ceased vibratiang on the ear,

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when the battle of the Ouithlecoochee was announced, The movements of General Clinch, in the very end of the year 1835, brought about this event, which will presently be detailed in his own words. He was lying in garrison at Fort Drane, a stockade about 30 miles from Camp King. He had here a plantation, upon which was a large crop of corn; this he liberally dealt out to the soldiers; other supplies having failed. On the arrival of General Call, an expedition was immediately set on foot for the head-quarters of the Indians.

I will now proceed with General Clinch's account of his battle with Osceola.

"*Head Quarters, Territory of Florida, Fort Drane, January* 4, 1836

"Sir—On the 24th ultimo, Brigadier General Call, commanding the volunteers called into service by his excellency, G. R. Walker, acting governor of Florida, formed a junction with the regular troops, at this post, and informed me that his command had been raised to meet the crisis; that most of their terms of service would expire in a few days, which made it necessary to act promptly. Two large detachments were sent out on the 15th [Dec.] to scour the country on our right and left flank. Lieut. Col. Fanning, with three companies from Fort King, arrived on the 27th; and, on the 29th, the detachment having returned, the brigade of mounted volunteers, composed of the 1st and 2d regiment, commanded by Brig. Gen. Call, and a battalion of regular troops commanded by Lieut. Col. Fanning, took up the line of march for a point on the Ouithlecoochee river, which was represented

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by our guides as being a good ford. About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 31st of December, after leaving all our baggage, provisions, &c., protected by a guard commanded by Lieut. Dancy, we pushed on with a view of carrying the ford, and of surprising the main body of the Indians, supposed to be concentrated on the west bank of the river; but on reaching it, about day-light, we found, instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream, and no means of crossing, except in an old and damaged canoe. Lieut. Col. Fanning, however, soon succeeded in crossing; the regular troops took a position in advance, whilst Brig. Gen. Call was actively engaged in crossing his brigade, and in having their horses swam over the river. But before one half had crossed, the battalion of regulars, consisting of about 200 men, were attacked by the enemy, who were strongly posted in the swamp and scrub, which extended from the river. This little band, however, aided by Col. Warren, Maj. Cooper, and Lieut. Yeoman, with 27 volunteers, met the attack of a savage enemy, nearly three times their number, headed by the chief Oseola, with Spartan valor. The action lasted nearly an hour, during which time the troops made three brilliant charges into the swamp and scrub, and drove the enemy in every direction. And after the third charge, although nearly one third of their number had been cut down, they were found sufficiently firm and steady to fortify the formation of a new line of battle, which gave entire protection to the flanks, as well as the position selected for recrossing the troops. Brig. Gen. Call, after using every effort to induce the volunteers re-

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maining on the east bank, when the action commenced, to cross the river, and in arranging the troops still remaining on that bank, crossed over and rendered important service by his coolness and judgment in arranging part of his corps on the right of the regulars, which gave much strength and security to that flank. Col. Fanning displayed the greatest firmness throughout the action, and added much to the high reputation long since established. Captains Drane and Mellon exhibited great bravery and judgment, and likewise added to the character they acquired in the late war. Nor was Capt. Gates wanting in firmness. Capt. Wm. M. Graham, 4th infantry, was fearlessly brave, and although very severely wounded early in the engagement, continued to head his company in the most gallant manner, until he received another severe wound, when he was taken from the field. His brother, Lieut. Campbell Graham, commanding the adjacent company, was likewise severely wounded early in the fight, but continued with his men until another wound forced him, from loss of blood, to retire from the field. Lieut. Maitland, who commanded a company, contributed much, by his gallantry, to encourage his men. Lieuts. Talcot, Capron, John Graham, Ridgely, (who was wounded early in the action,) and Brooks, all displayed good courage and coolness throughout the action. When almost every non-commissioned officer and private exhibited such firmness, it was almost impossible to discriminate between them; but the commanding-general cannot withhold his high approbation of judgment and courage displayed by sergeant Johnson of

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H company, third artillery, on whom the command of the company devolved, after Lieut. Graham was removed from the field; and who, although severely wounded, continued at the head of the company till the action was over. Also of sergeants Kenton and Lofton, and corporal Paget, 4th infantry. Sergeants Scoffield and Potter, D company, 2d artillery; sergeant Smith, C company, first artillery, and corporal Chapin, C company, 3d artillery. Col. John Warner, commandant 1st regiment volunteers, Maj. Cooper, and Lieut. Yeoman of same corps, who had formed on the left flank, were all severely wounded, while leading their little band to the charge, and all behaved with great bravery, as well as adjutant Phillips. Lieut. Col. Mills displayed great coolness and judgment during the action, and in recrossing the river with his command. Lieuts. Stewart and Hunter of the 2d regimet, with a few men of that regiment, were judiciously posted on the right, and, from their reputation for firmness, would have given a good account of the enemy, had he made his appearance in that quarter. Col., Parkill, of the F volunteers, who performed the duties of adjutant-general, displayed much military skill and the utmost coolness and courage throughout the whole action; and his services were of the first importance. Col. Reid, inspector-general, displayed much firmness, but he had his horse shot, and received a slight wound early in the engagement, and was sent with orders to the volunteers. My volunteer aid, Maj. Lytle, and Maj. Welford, aid to Brig. Gen. Call, were near me throughout the action, and displayed the most intrepid courage and coolness.

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Col. J. M. McIntosh, one of my aids, and Maj. Gamble, aid to Gen. Call, both displayed much firmness and courage, and were actively employed on the left flank. I also feel it due to Lieut. Col. Bailey, Capt. Scott, and Lieut. Cuthbert, to say, that, although the action was nearly over before they could cross the river with a few of the 2d regiment, they took a judicious position, and showed much firmness. Capt. Wyatt, of the same corps, was entirely employed in erecting a temporary bridge, and manifested much firmness. Much credit is also due to the medical department, composed of Doctors Wightman, Hamilton, Randolph, and Bradon, for their activity and attention to the wounded.

D. L. CLINCH,
Brevet B General U. S. Army, Commanding.
"R. Jones, *Adjutant-General U. S. Army.*"

"TOTAL—4 killed, and 52 wounded." How many of the wounded died after the return was made out, I cannot ascertain; but no doubt many did, as is always the case. The loss of the Indians is, as usual on such occasions, variously estimated. Some friendly Indians who came into Tallahassee, said that Osceola lost 104 men, and was himself twice wounded during the battle.

There were with General Clinch, as guides in his expedition, three or four Indians of the white party, relatives of the chief, Charles Omathla, who doubtless rendered eminent service.

Osceola was observed foremost of all his men in this battle, and was well known to General Clinch and many of his men. He wore a red belt, and three long feathers. Having taken his stand behind a tree,

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he would step boldly out, level his rifle, and bring down a man at every fire; nor was he dislodged until several volleys from whole platoons had been fired upon him. The tree behind which he stood was literally cut to pieces. It is almost a wonder that he had not now fulfilled the measure of his threat made on a former occasion, which was to kill General Clinch. He probably tried his best to do it, for the General received several shots through his clothes. General Thompson, Charles Omathla, and General Clinch were the three persons he had declared vengeance against.

An officer in General Clinch's army wrote the next day after the battle, to a friend in Washington, "You will see from Gen. Clinch's official letter, giving an account of the battle, that he says nothing of himself. I was in this battle, and allow me to say to you respecting him, what I saw and know to be true.—Throughout the engagement he was in the hottest of the fight. His horse was shot under him in two places, neck and hip. A ball passed through his cap, entering the front, and passing out at the back part of the top. Another ball passed through the sleeve of the bridle-arm of his coat. This was my first battle, and I may not be the best judge, but I do not believe that any man ever displayed more intrepid courage than Gen. Clinch did on this occasion. At one moment a little confusion occurred among the troops, in consequence of some soldiers giving the word "*Retire!*" The general immediately threw himself in front of the men, and his horse staggering under him, he dismounted, advanced to the front, and, amidst a shower of bullets from the Indians, said, that

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before he would show his back to the enemy, he would die upon the field. The high and chivalric bearing of the general kindled among the men an enthusiasm, which, I believe, was never surpassed. A gallant charge followed, which routed and drove the enemy from the field, and they did not again show themselves. We kept the field about three hours, and then recrossed the river in good order, and without disturbance."

On the 12th of January, "Col. Parish, at the head of 200 mounted volunteers, composed of the companies of Capt. Alston, Bellamy, and Caswell, had a sharp encounter with a large body of Indians near Wetumka, in Middle Florida. The attack commenced with the advanced guard under Capt. Bellamy, who had been allowed by the enemy to pass their main body. Col. Parish immediately hastened forward to his support, when suddenly he was attacked on both flanks by the enemy in ambush. The volunteers made an unsuccessful attempt to charge on horseback; they were then dismounted and formed in admirable order. They then charged the enemy in a manner worthy of veterans. In the mean time, Capt. Bellamy, having routed the attacking party opposed to him, fell back on the main body. The enemy were soon forced to take shelter in a thicket. By this time, night coming on, it was not thought prudent to follow them, where the localities of the place and darkness would have given them great advantages. Our men rested on their arms in the open pine woods, prepared to renew the action at day-light; but during the night the savages effected a retreat. Their loss must have been

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considerable, as six dead bodies were counted in one part of the field of battle. Two days after, Col. Parish marched for Fort King, and arrived there in safety. He then proceeded to Powell's [Osceola's] town, and destroyed it. The volunteers then returned to Fort Drane."

Upon the 17th of January, as George W. Rockleff and Jerry Bowers, pilots in the sloop Pilot, of Mosquito, were proceeding up Halifax River, and when nearly opposite Mrs. Anderson's plantation, they were fired upon by the Indians, about 100 in number, as they judged, who continued their fire about a quarter of an hour. They overshot the men, but the sail and rigging of their vessel was much injured; 30 bullets having passed through the mainsail.

The next day, 18th January, Major Putman, who was at the head of the independent company, styled the St. Augustine Guards, stationed at Mosquito, proceeded to Mrs. Anderson's plantation, at a place called Dun Lawton, about 50 miles south of St. Augustine, on the Halifax River, upon discovery. It will be remembered that the whole of the Mosquito country was destroyed on the 26th and 27th Dec., as we have before related, and the buildings of Mrs. Anderson were at that time burned. While there, this company, composed of the generous and spirited young men of St. Augustine, joined by a few from Mosquito, making about 40 men, was attacked by 150 Indians, as was supposed. Mr. George Anderson and Mr. Douglas Dummi, standing on guard, saw two Indians approaching, upon whom they fired, killing one and wounding the other. Dummit ran to the fallen Indian,

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and as he was stooping over him, received a wound in the back of the neck. At the same moment the whole body of the Indians rushed out of a scrub, distant a little more than musket shot, and commenced a furious attack upon Major Putman's men, who, from behind the fragments and broken walls of the burnt buildings, gave the Indians a warm reception; and although but 40 in number, having coverts from which to fight, and the Indians being in open space, they kept them at bay for about an hour. During this time but one had been wounded. The Indians now charged them with such determined fury upon their flanks, that they were obliged to fly to their boats, which were at considerable distance from the shore, and were closely pursued by the Indians. In their hurry, the whites rendered all their guns, but one, useless, by wetting them; with this one, however, they fired as often as possible, and pushed off with energy; but the water being shallow for a great distance, they were in the most imminent danger of being boarded by the numerous Indians; in such event, every man must have perished. However, they escaped with 19 badly wounded, and several of these mortally. One boat fell into the hands of the Indians, in which were eight or ten men, who all jumped overboard and escaped, except one, a Mr. Edward Gould, who swam to Pelican Island, and was there left; nor was it in the power of the others to relieve him, they being pursued by the Indians in the boat which they had just taken. He was not heard of afterwards, and was supposed to have been drowned next day in endeavoring to swim from the Island. A Mr. Marks swam to the

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opposite beach, and escaped to Bulowville; the others were taken into the boats again.

Great fears having, all along, been entertained that the Seminoles would be aided by the Creeks, it is now confidently affirmed that at least 1000 of them have gone down into Florida for that end.

About the 20th of January, Capt. Hooder, on the lower Suanee River, finding the opposite side in possession of the Indians, crossed over with nine men to attack them. As they landed, two of his men were shot down; one with nine balls, the other with five. With his remaining men he charged the Indians with great boldness. In the mean time his boat got adrift, and no other alternative was left but victory or death. After a close and deadly contest of some minutes, the Indians were routed with severe loss.

About the middle of January, great alarm spread through the confines of Georgia, that the Creek Indians were imdodying in various parts of their country, and the utmost consternation prevailed. On the 23d of January, it being reported at Columbus, that the Indians were in force at Bryant's Ferry, 15 miles below that place, a company of whites, consisting of about 20 or 30 men, under Captain Watson, marched down upon discovery. They discovered 30 or 40 Indians, some of whom had rifles, but it does not appear that they had done, or intended, any mischief. However, the whites pursued them, and pretty soon a firing commenced, and, though of short durarion, two were killed on each side, and the whites were driven from the ground, having several of their number wounded.

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The next operations of importance were those between the forces under General Gaines and Osceola, and upon the memorable Ouithlecoochee. General Gaines was upon a tour of inspection and duty, when he first learned that serious disturbances had occurred between the whites and Seminoles. This was about the 15th of January, and the general was arrived at New Orleans. His previous head-quarters had been at Memphis, in Tennessee. He therefore called on the governor of Louisiana, to have a body of volunteers in readiness for military service, and set out himself immediately for the scene of hostilities. At Pensacola he found some vessels of war, under commodores Dallas and Bolton, and Captain Webb, who had already commenced operations in the neighborhood of Tampa Bay, and other adjacent inlets. Col. Twiggs had been ordered to receive into service eight companies of volunteers, to be raised by the governor of Louisiana, and the regular force at Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and other stations in the immediate vicinity of New Orleans, and to hold himself in readiness for a movement towards Tampa. This force consisted of about 1100 men.

That no time should be lost, General Gaines returned immediately to New Orleans (about 26th of Jan.), and, on the 4th of February, was under way again for Florida, with his forces organized. He arrived at Tampa, with his forces, in three steamboats, on the 9th, and, on the 13th began to proceed into the Indian country. His first movement was to the east, on the Alafia River, having understood there had been a fight in that direction, near Fort Brooke, between the hos-

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tile and friendly Indians; but after two days, no enemy being discovered, the line of march was altered for Fort King. General Gaines' army had but ten days' rations; but, by advices, he was assured that there was plenty at Fort King.

On the 20th of February, the army passed Major Dade's fatal field, on which was found 106 men, all of whom they decently interred. All the officers who fell in that disastrous fight were identified, and what was very remarkable, every man was accounted for; but what struck every one with the greatest surprise, was, that the dead were in no instance pillaged; articles the most esteemed by savages were untouched; the officers' bosom-pins remained in their places; their watches were found in their pockets, and money, in silver and gold, was left to decay with its owner—a lesson to all the world—a testimony that the Indians are not fighting for plunder!—nay, they are fighting for their rights, their country, their homes, their very existence! The arms and ammunition were all that had been taken, except the uniform coat of Maj. Dade.

On the 22d of February, the army arrived at Fort King, much to the agreeable surprise of the garrison, which it had been reported was cut off by the Indians. Owing to the countries being in possession of the Indians, no supplies had arrived; and, the next day, a troop of horse was despatched to Fort Drane, (22 miles north-west,) in hopes to obtain further supplies. They returned the 24th, but with only seven days' additional rations. To this they added two days' more at Fort King. The general scarcely knew what course next to take; but he finally concluded to move

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down the Ouithlecoochee, over General Clinch's battle-ground, and so to Tampa, thinking such a route might bring him in contact with the main body of the Indians. Accordingly the army moved, on the 26th, from Fort King, and, at two o'clock on the 27th, arrived at General Clinch's crossing-place. Here, while examining and sounding the river, the Indians fired upon them, and set up a fierce war-cry; but their numbers were not sufficient to make any material impression, although they continued the fight for about half an hour. The whites lost one killed, and eight wounded.

On the 28th, the army, having resumed its march, was again attacked, about two miles from its former position, and a fire was kept up about half of the day. At the commencement of the action, Lieut. Izard, of the United States dragoons, fell, mortally wounded. In the course of the fight, another was killed, and two wounded. In the evening an express was sent to Fort Drane, with directions for the commanding officer to march down with a force upon the opposite side of the Ouithlecoochee, and thus come upon the rear of the Indians; which movement, should it succeed, it was hoped, would finish the war.

On the morning of the 29th, no Indians were to be seen; but the general did not relax his precautions. A party was preparing timber and canoes for crossing the river, when, about 9 o'clock, they were sharply fired upon, and, at the same time, the encampment was attacked upon every side, but that towards the river. The Indians now seemed in great force, (12 or 1500, as was supposed,) having been collecting

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from all quarters, since the fight on the previous day. They continued the contest two hours, in which time one man was killed and 33 wounded. Among the latter was the general himself,—a rifle ball having passed through his lower lip, knocked out one tooth, and damaged two others. When it was found that the general was wounded, his companions expressed much regrat; but he talked of it as a matter of small mement; said "it was very unkind in the rascals to take away a tooth which he valued so highly."

On reconnoitering the enemy's ground, after he had fled, Gaines' men found one of their dead, which had been dragged a considerable distance and left unburied, from which circumstance they conjectured he had fled in haste. His rifle had been taken away, but he was found to be well provided with ammunition, having plenty of powder an sixty bullets. The place of this attack Gaines called Camp Izard.

The flight of the Indians was no security for their not appearing again; for, on the 2d of March, they returned, and commenced pouring in their shot upon the whites, which, at intervals, they continued to do until the 5th. Meantime all of their provisions were exhausted, and they began the slaughter of their horses to sustain life. But is is said that during, all this time, no one was heard to murmur or complain.

On the night of the 5th, about 10 o'clock, a call was heard from the woods, and some one requested a parley. On the officer of the guard's demanding what was wanted, it was answered that the Indians were tired of fighting, and wished for peace. The general ordered the officer of the guerd to answer,

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that if the Indians wished to treat, to send a messenger the next morning, with a white flag, and he should come and go in safety. He replied, "very well," and added that "he desired to have a friendly talk, and to shake hands." Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th, about 300 Indians filed out from the river, and took a position in the rear of the whites, about 500 yards off. They expected nothing now but a most bloody contest, supposing the main body of the Indians to be concealed in a neighboring hammock. Both parties remained a short time in suspense, each doubting what the other would do. At length, one or two advanced within hailing distance, and being joined with others, repeated what had been said the night before. The general now sent out to them a staff officer, and they told him they did not wish to fight any more, but requested that the army should withdraw from the Ouithlecoochee. Osceola was at the head of the Indian deputation. When the officer who had met the Indians reported this talk to Gaines, he ordered him to return to Osceola, and to inform him in the plainest terms, that they would be subdued, that a large force was on the way into their country, and that, unless they submitted, every Indian found in arms would be shot. When this was communicated to the Indians, they said they would go and hold a council, and would meet them again in the afternoon. The meeting in the afternoon, accordingly took place, and the Indians urged what they had said in the morning, and added that they had lost many of their men by death and wounds, and were tired of the war; but as their governor (as they styled

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Micanopy) was not there, they must first consult him, and asked to have the war suspended until he could be consulted. They were told that if they would cease from acts of hostility, go south of the Ouithlecoochee, and attend a council when called upon by the United States commissioners, they should not be molested. This they agreed to, and at the same moment, General Clinch came upon the main body of the Indians, and they all fled with the utmost precipitation, probably concluding this was a stratagem which the whites had prepared to cut them off. Clinch came with 500 men and supplies, which was doubtless more agreeable to the starving army, than even a treaty with Osceola.

The Indians seem to have been well acquainted with the condition of General Gaines' army; for during the interview with Osceola, he asked how they were off for provisions, and when they told him they had enough, he shook his head, saying, "It is not so; you have nothing to eat; but if you will come over the river, I will give you two beeves, and some brandy." It is therefore surprising that he should have been now asking for peace. It shows, however, that he was well aware of the hopelessness of his case; and although he was able to deal with General Gaines, he early knew of the approach of General Clinch, and it was, probably, on his gaining that knowledge, that he concluded to see what kind of terms could be got of the whites, as the affairs of war then stood.

General Gaines, having transferred his command to General Clinch, left for New Orleans about the 9th of March, and General Clinch proceeded with his

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united forces to Fort Drane. A negro spy, who had been sent among the hostile Indians, from Camp Izard, soon after returned, and confirmed the peaceable intentions of the chiefs: they told him, that in their various skirmishes with General Gaines on the Ouithlecoochee they had lost 30 men. Of the whites but 5 were killed, and 60 wounded. It is rather uncommon that there should be so great a disproportion between the slain of the parties, when it is considered that the Indians almost always fought from coverts.

On the 9th of March, Capt. Allison of the Florida volunteers had a skirmish near ' is camp, not far from Fort Brooke. He routed the Indians, whom he judged to be a thousand strong, and took considerable plunder. Hence, notwithstanding the Indians were supposed to desire peace, skirmishes continued. And on the 23d of March, a company of volunteers were attacked about six miles from Volusia, in which the whites lost three men killed, and six wounded, and the Indians five or six, Among the latter was their chief, called Ouchee Billy, or Billy Hicks. He was found the day after the fight, concealed in some brush.

About the 5th of April, Major McLemore, by order of Gen. Scott, took a position on the Ouithlecoochee, and erected a block-house, which was called Camp McLemore. Here, about 40 men, far removed into the heart of the Indian country, were to remain until relieved by the General, or Major McLemore, who, it appears, after establishing the post, immediately left it. This small force seems to have arrived here at a most fortunate time, for it was four days before they were discovered by the Indians, and during this period

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OUCHEE BILLY—OR BILLY HICKS.

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they had completed a block-house far their protection.

It is scarcely to be credited that this little company of men, sent here by the commander-in-chief of the army, should be left without the means of escape in extremity of circumstances, and no way kept open by which their situation from time to time might be known, such, however, was the case, and for about six weeks nothing was heard of them. They had not been provided with provisions for more than two weeks, and it was the general impression of every one that they had all perished by famine or the hands of the Indians.

The following account of the siege of Camp McLemore by Dr. Lawrence, surgeon there at the time, shall be given in his own words:—"We had just completed buiiding the block-house, and dug out a spring near the edge of the fort, when, on the morning of the 9th of April, at a little before dawn of day, we were attacked by the Indians, who had encompassed us on three sides, and were in number about 150 or 200. The engagement lasted one hour and three quarters, when they found out, to their sorrow, that our reception was not only too warm, but that they had ventured too near us without due reflection. On the next day, we had one man killed on his post by an Indian rifle, fired from the opposite side of the river. On the 15th of April, we were attacked by a body of the savages who had completely surrounded us, and whose number we computed at 4 to 500 though we have since heard that Powell had 1000 to 1500 of them. This was the hottest engagement we had during our stay on the Ouithle-

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coochee. They fired their guns by hundreds at the same moment at our block-house, and succeeded in taking our only means of escape, our boat--which they took down the river and destroyed after the battle. The engagement continued two hours and forty-five minutes, and we had three men slightly wounded.

"On the 24th, we had a very severe battle, in which they displayed their ingenuity by shooting fire-arrows on fire upon the roof of the house, which destroyed the roof and left us exposed to the inclemency of the weather. This arrow-firing was performed by 26 of their men, whilst about 3 to 500 used their guns. We had, on this occasion, two or three of our men wounded. We probably killed 40 or 50 of the Indians. The night after the battle, we heard their chief hail us, and say, "that he was going away in the morning, and would trouble us no more." He kept his promise very well, though he did give us about 100 guns the next morning ere he left. Our captain, Holloman was killed on the 3rd of May, whilst endeavoring to fortify and strengthen our position. The Indians continued to give us a passing shot, from 50 to 100 guns, every five or six days, though he kept a spy upon us at other times. The officers were 21 days living on corn, without salt or meat, and the men about 28 days."

It appears that the great danger of ascending the Ouithlecoochee, together with the known circumstances of the garrison, had fixed in the minds of all those who were able to lend them aid, that they had been cut off; and, therefore, to hazard any thing to

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clear up this extremely doubtful case, was considered next to crime itself. At length, the poor distressed handful at Camp McLemore, found among their number, three that would venture out for succor, and they arrived at Tallahassee in a canoe, about the 16th of April. This circumstance, in all probability, proved the safety of their fellows, as well as themselves. A company was made up at St. Marks, and under Capt. Leigh Read, proceeded in a steamboat for the Ouithlecoochee on the 22d of May, and on the 24th took off the garrison without the loss of a man.

While these affairs were being transacted on the Ouithlecoochee, a considerable force marched from Volusia to a point on the Oklawaha River, distant 30 miles, on their way to Fort Brooke. The rive being higher than usual, the force was obliged to halt to build a bridge for the passage of their cannon and baggage wagons. On the opposite side of a lake, on the left of the detachment, two fires were soon discovered, which it was supposed were made as signals by two parties of Indians. Col. Butler immediately proceeded to cross over the river with his battalion, and when he had marched about three miles, some Indians were discovered and pursued by the advanced guard. General Joseph Shelton was of Butler's party, who, being ahead of the advanced guard, charged upon one of the Indians, who was in the rear of the retreating party. At about 25 paces from him, the Indian turned, and they both levelled their rifles—Shelton fired first, and mortally wounded the Indian in the neck, who then endeavored to make his escape. Shelton dropped his gun, and rushed on him with his

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pistol, which missed fire at five or six paces from him. The Indian now turned and shot Shelton in the hip, and at the same moment another white came up and shot the Indian in the back, and he was immediately despatched. The ball which entered Shelton's hip passed round near the spine, and was cut out, and he was recovering.

I have been particular in detailing this affair, as the Indian who fell in it, proved to be a chief of distinction, known among the whites by the name of *Mad Wolf*, which was the English signification of his name. In Indian it was *Kohahajo*. He was of Micanopy's tribe, and had under him 40 or 50 warriors, and was probably one of the leaders on the Ouithlecoochee, who beset General Gaines so long. His name was given in among them by Black Dirt, as Coaharjo. He was also at the treaty of Payne's Landing, and one of the Indian deputation who visited the country west of the Mississippi afterwards.

The next day after Kohahajo was killed, Colonel Butler and Goodwin, with a battalion of mounted men were sent to reconnoitre Pilaklikaha, the residence of Jumper and Micanopy. When they had proceeded about six miles, their advanced guard received a sharp fire from a hammock on the left, but were soon dislodged by a charge from the main body. Two of the whites were badly wounded, one horse killed, and four wounded. After another considerable swamp fight, in which several were wounded, the army proceeded to the Indian town, but it had been deserted for a long time. They burnt it, and then proceeded to Fort Brooke.

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An officer in General Scott's army at Tampa wrote on the 15th of April:—"All the militia will leave us by the 20th of May, and the regulars will go into summer-quarters at this place, Key West, Volusia, Mosquito, and one or two more posts at the south. Without the greatest good luck nothing will be done this summer, and the war must be renewed in the autumn."

About the time General Gaines left Fort Drane General Scott arrived there, with instructions to assume the chief command of the forces in Florida. Since that time the operations have been of not much importance. About the 20th of March, Capt. Hitchcock communicated the following valuable information respecting the hostile Indians, which was given him by the friendly chief, Black Dirt, whose Indian name is TUCK-ALUSTER HARJO. He says that in the fights with General Gaines were the following chiefs and warriors, viz:—JUMPER with 30, ASSUHOLA [Osceola] with 7, ALLBURTUHARJO with 30, JARHARTO CHEE with 30, CARCHAR TOSKNUSK (Mecosukee) with 470, MECANOP (principal chief) with 80, ABRAM (Negro) with 80, WEEA FLOCKO MATTEZ with 70, YARHARHACK with 160, TOSKIEUCAR with 50, ECHUA MATTEZ with 50, HAT HOW EMATTEZ with 30, CHARLES (a Negroe) with 3, COAHARJO with 1, and TOPARLAGEE with 40.

There had been about 400 Seminoles collected at Tampa, chiefly women and children of Black Dirt's tribe, who were on the 12th of April shipped off for "beyond the Mississippi" by General Scott.

Up to the 18th of May, 1836, at Augusta, (Ga.) it was reported that all the southern mail routes were

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in possession of the Indians, except that to Mobile. The day before, all the mails were brought back. Colonel Crowell's plantation, and many others, had been burnt, and a stage agent and two drivers had been killed. The governor of Georgia had ordered two regiments of volunteers to take the field. About this time the steamboat Hyperion was attacked on her passage up the Chattahoochie, and two pilots and one passenger were killed. She was then run on shore on the Georgia side, and after being abandoned, was taken and destroyed by the Indians.

The Creek towns and tribes which have declared themselves hostile are a part of the Ochees, the Hitchetas, the Pal-lo-cho-ko-los, the So-wok-ko-los, and a part of the Ufallahs. The principal chiefs who have showed themselves as their leaders, are old Neamathla, of whom we have already several times spoken, chief of the Hitchetas, Jim Henry, and Neo Mico. Many friendly Indians immediately joined the whites, one of the principal leaders of whom is a chief called Jim Boy. The war party have discovered great boldness. About the 10th of May, a party came within 30 or 40 yards of Fort Mitchell, a strong and well defended place, entered the hospital, and carried off what they pleased, and the garrison thought it not best to disturb them.

On the 14th following, the mail from Montgomery to Columbus was attacked about 20 miles from the latter place. A driver on that route was riding along the road on horseback, about 50 yards ahead of the stage, when he was fired upon by a about 30 Indians, yet he unaccountably escaped injury. His horse took

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fright and threw him, and he escaped into a thicket. When he arrived at the next stage relay, the horses had got there, but without any carriage, but had about them some fragments of their harness. Mr. Adams, who was in the stage, made his escape by leaping into the woods when the stage upset. A driver and two others were killed. There were 19 horses belonging to the line in the company, of which but three were recovered, and these were wounded.

About this time the old steamboat Georgian was burnt while lying at Roanoak, and all on board, except the engineer, perished. The town of Roanoak was at the same time laid in ashes, but the citizens escaped to a fort. Irwinton, a flourishing town on the Georgia side of the river, soon after shared the same fate.

Meanwhile some affairs of considerable moment were transpiring in Florida. Colonel Lindsay had been despatched, at the head of about 750 men, from Fort brooke, with orders to proceed to Fort Alabama, to destroy it, and bring away the sick, wounded, and provisions. Having proceeded there, and effected their object, the forces marched again for Fort Brooke. Before leaving the fort, a mine was prepared, by leaving powder in the magazine, which should explode on its being opened. They had got but a mile or two, when the mine was sprung with a fearful noise, but what effect it had produced was not known. The whites had missed two of their number the day before, whom they found on their return march, about 12 miles from Fort Alabama, killed in the way, and one shockingly mangled. While the army was con-

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templating this spectacle it was fired upon by 500 Indians, as was supposed, from a hammock, no more than 30 yards off. The whites immediately formed, and fired in their turn, and a regular fight ensued. The Indians could not be dislodged until several rounds of grape shot from the artillery had been poured in upon them. This was a bloody affray for them, but their loss was not fully known; several were found dead on the field, and numerous traces of others who had been dragged off dead or severely wounded were discovered. The whites had three killed and twenty-two wounded.

A letter addressed to the editor of the Richmond Enquirer gives a fearful picture of the affairs in the Creek country. It was written at Talbot (Ga.) on 11th of May, and is in these words:—"I wrote you yesterday informing you of the hostile movements of the Creek Indians, and the commencement of their murderous career. We have full information here to-day of the distressing state of things among the whites who have settled over in that territory. The Indians are killing all—men, women, and children. Vast numbers have been butchered without doubt; and the whole country on this side of the Chattahoochie is in uproar and confusion. The population of the territory had become considerable, and they who have been fortunate enough to escape are come over in droves on the Georgia side; some with a part of their children; some who have lost their children; some their husbands; and many children without father or mother; some were found wandering about so young that they could give no account who their

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parents were. So perfect a mixture and confusion as never was witnssed before. Many have seen a part of their families murdered. One gentleman saw his father shot down near him, and his mother and sisters. Some of the dead have been brought over shockingly mangled. It is thought the whole nation is in hostile array; their warriors are computed at 6 or 7,000 strong. The general impression is, that a part of the Seminoles have come up among them. The town of Columbus is in great danger of an attack, as they have theatened it strongly. A company of 40 or 50 men left Columbus yesterday morning, and went over. On their return at night they brought in seven children, which they had found scattered about."

Such are the accounts which have been daily circulated for two months together, and although they are distorted in many particulars, yet out of them we are at present to collect all that is known of this war. The "Columbus Centinel" of the 13th of May contains the following facts, which are confirmed from other quarters:—"On Monday we recived information that hostilities had commenced on the road between Columbus and Montgomery, at the Uchee bridge, and further on, and in the evening the bridge at this place, the streets leading from it were thronged with the unfortunate refugees, who were fleeing before their savage neighbors. The pitiable condition of many of them was past the power of description. Wives severed from their husbands, and parents from their children; all dismayed, all terror-stricken; presented a scene which we never again desire to see. An interesting looking girl, just blooming into woman-

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hood, was brought in on horseback, behind a benevolent stranger, who had found her in the nation, making her way, unattended, to this place. She started with her parents, but before they had proceeded far, they were brutally shot down before her eyes. She fled to the woods and escaped from her savage pursuers, and was found and brought to Columbus as above stated. A young man arrived at this place also witnessed the savage murder of his parents. Another young man, in the act of fleeing, perceived the Indians dragging away his sister. He returned, declaring he would rescue her or die in the attempt, and he has not been heard of. From this time their deeds of savage barbarity have been too numerous to particularize. A waman was brought in on Teusday, wounded in the hand, whose husband had been shot the preceding evening at the Uchee bridge. Col. A. B. Dawson's negroes, who were taken by the Indians, and made their escape, state that they saw three corpses on the road near the Uchee bridge; a man, woman, and child, who had all been murdered. We learn that about 150 friendly Indians have reported themselves at Fort Mitchell, and are ready to assist the whites. Accounts to the 17th of May, further state that the Indians had entered the house of one family, and murdered the whole—including husband, wife, and six children. All were scalped, and the children beheaded. The house of a Mr. Colton had been attacked, and himself killed."

Generals Scott and Jessup were at Fort Mitchell on the 3d of June; the former left that place on that day with an escort of 150 men for Alabama, to take the

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command of the troops of that state. On the 4th, Capt. Page reported to General Scott that a party of Indians was about to cross the Chattahoochie in their way to Florida, and steps were immediately made to stop them. The day before a party was stopped by a company of Georgia militia, after a sharp skirmish, in which one white and several Indians were supposed to have been killed. Two chiefs were wounded, Ealahayo in the shoulder, and Jim Henry in the head. The action took place across the river, which being high and wide, little was effected. The Indians dared the whites to come over, called them dogs and cowards, and the most that the whites could do was to retaliate in the same sort of language

About the end of June, a party of whites, who were scouting on Flint river, accidentally found a young woman about three miles from Cambridge, who had been wounded by a shot in the breast. She stated that, on the 26th of June, about 300 Indians killed all the family to which she belonged, 13 in number, except herself, and her father, who made his escape. After being shot, she feigned death, and as the murdered were not scalped, she made her escape after the Indians left the scene of butchery.

Up to the 16th of June, all the houses of the whites in the Creek country had been burned. On the 13th, in an attack on an Indian town by some whites, 24 persons were taken, among whom were three chiefs. These were held as hostages at Fort Mitchell, and word was sent to the hostile party, that if they did not come in and surrender they should be put to death. The next day, 120 came in and declared themselves

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friendly. As late as the 28th of Jun, it was reported at Columbus Ga., that the Creek war was probably at an end, "as far as fighting was concerned. Jim Henry's party have nearly all been taken. They were confined at Fort Mitchell, and all the smiths were at work making handcuffs for them." These will doubtless be sent beyond the Mississippi, "except the chiefs, five or six in number, who will be punished with death," as was supposed.

On the 1st of July, Jim Henry fell into the hands of a band of friendly Indians, under a chief named Jim Boy. For a few days previous he was supposed to have been on his way for the "promised land;" but he was found in the Creek nation, a few miles from Tuskegee. About the same time old Neamathla gave himself up to the whites, and was, on the day of the capture of Jim Henry, with about 1500 others, sent off for Arkansas. The circumstances of his falling in with the whites is said to be as folllows:—General Jessup had left Tuskegee with about 700 men, intending to make a direct march for Neamathla's camp, which was on Hatchahubbee river. As Gen. Jessup marched along, his forces increased to 2700 men, of which 1500 were Indians, under the chiefs Hopoithlepohola and Jim Boy. When he had arrived within about seven miles of Neamathla's camp, he ordered a halt to refresh his men and horses, at the expense of the beautiful oatfields of the Indians. While the army lay here a scout discovered Neamathla on horseback. He had concluded to surrender, and had a white cloth tied about his head, and some white garment for a flag, extended upon a stick, and was ap-

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proaching towards them. They ordered him to halt, but he gave no heed to them, until within a few paces. He was taken to Gen. Jessup's camp, and made prisoner. With him were his son and daughter, and a niece of Nea Mico. The two females were released, but his son was confined with him at Fort Mitchell. On being asked where he was going when he was taken, he said his life had been threatened by his own people, and he was hastening to Fort Mitchell, to give himself up.

Nea Mico had some days before given himself up. He was considered a great chief. David Hardige, a half-breed, was taken by surprise, with about a hundred of his men, with their women and children. By the 8th of June, there had been secured between 3 and 4000 Indians, which were despatched for the west as fast as circumstances would admit.

A party of about 60 warriors, who were endeavoring to escape into Florida, were overtaken by Colonel Beal, in Chickasatchie Swamp, Baker county, Alabama, and a considerable skirmish ensued. Nine Indians were killed and 20 wounded. Of Colonel Beal's men, two were killed and seven wounded. The Indians were left in possession of the swamp.

The following account was published in the Georgia Herald of the 28th of June, at Columbus. It is headed, "*Grand Entree into Fort Mitchell*," and then proceeds:—"On the 22d of June, we witnessed the *grand entree* of a drove of savages into the Fort [Mitchell] consisting of men, women, and children, in all about 1000; among them 200 warriors; they were brought in by a battallion of Alabama cavalry, under

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CHICKATOMO.

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the command of Maj. Gen. Patterson. The men were placed within the walls of the fort, while the women and children were encamped on the outside. It was an assemblage of human beings, such as we never before witnessed, and the sight filled us with thoughts and feelings to which we shall not give vent at this time. They were of all ages, from a month old to a hundred years,—of all sizes, from the little papoosie to the giant warrior. The old "Blind King," as he is called, rode in the centre of the throng, and although it has been many years since he beheld the light of day, yet has the feelings of hostility continued to rankle at his heart. The names of the hostile chiefs who have been taken and have ceme in, are Nea E-Mathla, Octo Archo-Emathla, [probably son of Nea-mathla,] Miccocholey, or Blind King, Tustee-Nuggee, Chopko-Yar-bar-Hadjo."

CHIKATOMMO.

In 1790, this chief succeeded in capturing many boats upon the Ohio River, killing many of those in them, and taking and destroying a vast amount of property. Among the boats which fell into the hands of Chickatommo was one in which was a Mr. Charles Johnston of Botetourt county, Virginia, and several others, and from whose narrative we derive much of this information—a book replete with instruction, and one of the most valuable in its kind. As this company were descending the Ohio, in an unwieldy flat-bottomed boat, in which were a number of horses and considerable merchandise, two white men appeared upon the shore, and called to them, affecting great distress,

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and begged to be taken on board. Before these two whites showed themselves, however, a smoke was seen above the trees, and for some time held them in doubt on which side of the river it was. They wished to ascertain this fact, as thereby they might keep close in upon the opposite shore, and so escape mischief in the event of an ambushment of Indians. They were thus wary, as the Indians were constantly doing mischief upon the rivers, and had but a short time before destroyed a settlement at a place called Kennedy's Bottom, in Kentucky.

It was before sunrise on the 20th of March, that the two white men before mentioned hailed the boat, which was safely out of the reach of fire-arms, having discovered the smoke to be upon the N. W. shore, and therefore they kept upon the S. W. These white men, the more effectually to decoy the boat's crew, said they had been taken prisoners by the Indians at Kennedy's Bottom, and had just escaped from them, and unless they would take them on board they must perish from hunger and cold. The truth was, one or both of them were abandoned wretches, who had leagued with a band of depredators under Chikatommo, and thus were the means of destroying many innocent lives in the most atrocious manner. When hailed by them, as we have just said, some in the boat were for listening to them, and some against it. In the mean time, the boat floated fast down the current, and left those on shore considerably in the rear, although they exerted themselves to keep abreast of the boat. Those who were against taking them on board had their objections well grounded; for when these men were

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asked the occasion of the smoke upon their side of the river, they denied that there had been any, or said they knew of no such thing; and this was urged as a sufficient reason why they should reject the other part of their story. Still, as the boat glided down, those on board debated the subject, and at length concluded, that if there were Indians where they first saw the men, they must be far up the river, as it was thought impossible that they could have got through the woods so fast as they had floated down; and one of the company, a Mr. Flinn, whose kindness of heart brought upon them this calamity, proposed hazarding his own person on shore, without in the least endangering the rest. His plan was as follows: that whereas they must be now out of the reach of the Indians, they should haul in, and barely touch upon the shore, and he would jump out, and the boat should at the same time haul off; so that if Indians should be coming, the boat would have time to get off safe, and as to himself, he could outrun them, and would get on board the boat again at a certain point below. And thus was the humane plan laid of relieving supposed distress, the sad recompense of which we now proceed to relate.

One circumstance had not been taken into account by this devoted company. The current being rapid, it took them much longer than they had anticipated to gain the shore; and gave some of the most swift-footed of Chikatommo's party time to arrive at the point at the same time with them. Having arrived close to the shore, Mr. Flinn had but barely cleared himself from the boat, when a large number of Indi-

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ans, painted in the most frightful manner, came rushing upon them. Some of the boat's crew seized their guns, and determined to resist, while the others used every means to get their boat from the shore; but every thing seemed to conspire against them. Their boat became entangled in the branches of a large tree, and the whole body of Indians, having arrived, being 54 in number, gave a horrible yell, and poured in their whole fire upon the boat. From the protection afforded by the side of the boat, only one was killed, Dolly Fleming, and Mr. Skiles, wounded. All resistance was vain, and the others lay down upon the bottom of the boat, to prevent being immediately killed. The Indians kept up their fire until all the horses were shot down, which added much to the horror of the situation of those upon the bottom of the boat, as they were in great danger of being trampled to death by them before they fell, and afterwards, by their strugglings. When this was finished, the firing ceased, and Mr. May stood up, and held up a white cap in token of surrender; but he fell in a moment after, with a ball shot through his head. Several of the Indians now swam to the boat, and were helped into it by those within. Having now got possession of it, they seemed well pleased, and offered no further violence. All things were now taken on shore, and an immense fire kindled; the dead were scalped, and thrown into the river, and the captives divested of most of their clothes. As several Indians were gathered around Mr. Johnston when he was stripped, one, observing that he had on a kind of red vest, approached and said to him in English, "Oh! you cappatin?"

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He said, "No." Then then the Indian pointed to his own breast, and said, "Me cappatin—all dese my sodger." This was Chikatómmo. An Indian, named Tom Lewis, discovered much humanity to Mr. Johnston, in that he covered him with his own blanket after he had lost his clothes.

Being all stationed about the fire, Chikatommo was at one end of it, (it being about 50 feet in length,) who, rising up, made a speech to the multitude. An old Shawance chief, whose name is not mentioned, made the first speech, at the end of which Chikatommo conducted Johnston to another Shawanee chief, whose name was Mes-shaw-a, to whom he was given or assigned, and informed that he was his friend. At the end of Chikatommo's speech, another prisoner was disposed of. The same ceremony was repeated with the third and last. Johnston, Skiles, and Flinn went to the Shawanese, and Peggy Fleming to the Cherokees. This band of robbers appears to have been made up of adventurers from the tribes just mentioned, with the addition of a few Delawares. The latter had none of the prisoners, as they did not wish to be known in the business, thinking it might involve their nation in a war with the United States.

The two white men who had decoyed the boat into the Indians' hands were still with them, and the next day all the captives ordered to take a position upon the edge of the river, to decoy the first that should be passing. A boat soon appeared, and, repugnant as such an employment was to the feelings of these captives, yet they were obliged thus to do, or suffer a horrible death. Divine and Thomas were the names

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of the two whites so often mentioned: the former was the voluntary agent, and as Mr. Johnston expresses it, the one who "alone had devised and carried into effect their destruction;" and, "ingenious in wicked stratagems, seemed to be perfectly gratified to aid the savages in their views, and to feel no scruples in suggesting means for their accomplishment. He fabricated a tale, that we were passengers down the Ohio, whose boat had suffered so great an injury that we were unable to proceed until it was repaired; but that for want of an axe, it was impossible for us to do the necessary work. These unsuspecting canoe-men turned towards us; but the current bore them down so far below us, as to preclude all chance of my putting them on their guard. [Mr. Johnston having intended by some sign to have given them warning of what awaited them.] The Indians, as they had acted in our case, ran down the river at such a distance from it, and under cover of the woods, that they were not discovered until the canoe was close to the shore, when they fired into it, and shot every one on board. As they tumbled into the water, their little bark was overset. Two, who were not yet dead, kept themselves afloat, but were so severely wounded that they could not swim off. The Indians leaped into the river, and after dragging them to the shore, despatched them with the tomahawk. The bodies of the four who were killed were also brought to land, and the whole six were scalped. All were then thrown into the river. Nothing I could then learn, or which has since come to my knowledge, has enabled me to understand who these unfortunate sufferers were."

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After various successes and encounters upon the river, Chikatommo left it, and met a number of his company at an encampment about five miles from it. Here he left the rest, taking with him a select number and some of the Cherokees, with Miss Fleming; an the conpany with whom Johnston remained did not join him again for many days. After much delay and interesting incident, they reached the Indian town of Upper Sandusky. Here they squandered all their rich booty for whiskey, and, as usual, rioted in drunkenness for several days. Chikatommo at this time showed himself very savage to the prisoners, and had he not been prevented by the humane and benevolent Messhawa, would have killed some of them. The unfortunate Skiles had some time before left them, and gone in an unknown direction with his cruel master.

A French trader at Sandusky, a Mr. Duchouquet, had used endeavors to ransom Johnston; but his master for some time would hear nothing of it. At length, having dissipated all his booty, and ashamed to return home in such a state, he concluded to sell Johnston for the most he could get; and accordingly 600 broaches were paid him, equal in value to 100 dollars, the amount agreed upon. Chikatommo and his party then took up their march for Detroit. Not long after this, Mr. Johnston returned home by way of that place. Before he left Sandusky, he was informed of the burning of the ill-fated Flinn; he suffered at the stake at the Miami village, and was eaten by his torturers. The Indian who brought the news to Sandusky, said that he himself had feasted upon him.

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King-crane, a Wyandot chief, appears conspicuous in this narrative, and illustrates a valuable trait of character in Indian life. When Mr. Duchouquet and Johnston had arrived at Lower Sandusky, in their way to Detroit, the town was filled with alarm, and they soon learned the occasion to be from the arrival of some Cherokees in the neighborhood, with a female captive. The traders in the place immediately went to their camp, where they found Peggy Fleming, who some time before had been separated from Johnston and the other captives. Among those who went to see her, was a white man by the name of Whitaker, who, having been carried into captivity in his youth, had grown up in all the Indian habits, and being a man of considerable physical powers and enterprise, had become a chief among the Wyandots. He had been upon the frontiers with the Indians upon trading expeditions, and had lodged by times in Pittsburg in the tavern of Miss Fleming's father. She immediately knew him, and besought him, in the most affecting manner, to deliver her from bondage. He went immediately to King-crane, and told him that the woman with the Cherokees was his sister, and begged him to use means for her relief. King-crane went without lo s of time, and urged the Cherokees to restore her to her brother. They were enraged at the request, and there was danger of their murdering her lest she should be taken from them. He next tried to purchase her, but his benevolent offers were indignantly refused, and their rage was still increased. Resolved to rescue her out of their hands, King-crane repaired to their camp early the next morning, accompanied with 8 or

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10 young warriors. They found the Cherokees asleep, but the captive—it is shocking to humanity to relate—was without the least attire! extended and lashed to the stake!--ready to be burned!—her body painted all over with black. King-crane silently cut the thongs with which she was bound, then awakened the murderers, and threw down upon the ground the price of a captive in silver broaches, (which are current money among them,) and departed. She was soon after sent forward for her home, disguised in the attire of a sqaw. The Cherokees prowled about seeking vengeance upon some white person for a few days, and then disappeared.

The reader may wish to know what became of Skiles:—he was taken to a place upon the Miami River, where he was doomed to be burnt, but made his escape the night previous to the day on which he was to have suffered. After enduring the most painful fatigues and hunger, from wandering alone in the wilderness, he met with some traders who conveyed him to Detroit, and from thence home to Virginia.

The sequel of the life of the old hard-hearted Chikatommo is as follows. For four years succeeding the events above related, he followed his depredating career, and was concerned in opposing the war parties of Americans until the time of General Wayne's famous expedition. As that veteran was advancing into the western region, Chikatommo met an advance party of his army at the head of a band of his desperate warriors, who where sent forward as the Indian forlorn hope. A sharp skirmish followed, and Chikatommo was slain. This was the action near Fort

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WAYNE'S VICTORY.

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Defiance. King-crane was also in arms to oppose General Wayne; but in the last war against England, he fought for the Americans, and is supposed to have died three or four years after its close. He was one of the signers of Wayne's famous treaty at Fort Greenville, and several others.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT, AND WAYNE'S VICTORY.

In 1790, an Indian war opened on the north-western frontier of the States. Pacific arrangements had been attempted by the president with the hostile tribes in Ohio, without effect. On their failure, Gen. Harmer was sent with about 1400 men to reduce them to terms. In this expedition, Harmer succeeded in destroying a few villages, and a quantity of grain belonging to the Indians; but in an engagement with them near Chillicothe, he was defeated with considerable loss. Upon the failure of Harmar, General St. Clair was appointed to succeed him. With an army of nearly 1500 men, St. Clair suffered himself to be surprised, with the loss of 630 men killed and missed, and 260 wounded.

"On the 3d of November, 1791, Gen. St. Clair had reached the vicinity of the Miami villages, with an army of about 1400 strong, regulars and militia, when he was joined by a small force under the command of Gen. Hamtrank.

"In this position Gen. St. Clair concerted measures to advance against the Miami villages; first by constucting a breast-work to cover his baggage, and next by detaching a party of militia to occupy a position

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about one fourth of a mile in advance of the main army.

"Thus posted, the general contemplated to commence the work of destruction the next morning; but the enemy, alive to their safety, surprised the militia at break of day the next morning; put them to flight, and pursued them with such fury as to drive them back with great disorder upon the main body. Gen. St. Clair beat to arms, and put himself at the head of his troops to cover the flying militia, and repulse the enemy; but all in vain; the action continued, the enemy appeared upon all sides of the American army, and poured in a deadly fire from the surrounding thickets, that strewed the field with heaps of the wounded, the dead, and the dying.

"Such was the fury of the contest, that the savages rushed to the combat, and penetrated even to the mouths of the cannon, regardless of danger and fearless of death; the artillerists were slain, the guns taken, and the enemy penetrated the camp; where General Butler fell, mortally wounded. General St. Clair ordered the charge of the bayonet to be renewed; the order was promptly obeyed by Majors Butler, Clark, and Drake; the enemy were repulsed, the camp was cleared, and the cannon recovered; but such was the destruction by the enemy's fire from the thickets, that General St. Clair ordered Major Clark to charge the enemy in front, and clear the road, that the army might effect a retreat, and thus be saved from total ruin; this order was promptly obeyed, the road was cleared, and the army commenced a flight, which was closely pursued about four miles, when the savages

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returned to share the spoils of the camp, and left Gen. St. Clair at liberty to pursue his flight to Fort Jefferson, (about thirty miles.) Here he was rejoined by the regiment under Major Hamtrank, and he called a council of war to decide on their future operations; it was resolved to pursue their retreat to Fort Washington, which was accordingly accomplished."

The Indians still continuing hostile, Gen. Wayne was appointed to succeed Gen. St. Clair. Failing to conclude a treaty, Wayne, with a force of 900 men, on the 20th of August, 1794, attacked a body of 2,000 Indians, on the banks of the Miami. The Indians were totally routed, a great number killed and their whole country laid waste. "By means of this victory over the Miamis, a general war with the Six Nations, and all the tribes north-west of the Ohio, was prevented."

"In the year after, Wayne concluded, at Greenville, treaties with the hostile Indians north-west of the Ohio; by which peace was established, on terms mutually satisfactory and beneficial. A humane system now commenced for ameliorating their condition. They were, henceforth, protected by the United States from the impositions and incursions of lawless white people; taught the use of the loom; and encouraged in the pursuits of agriculture; measures reflecting high praise on Colonel Hawkins, who was amongst the first to execute the benevolent intentions, originally projected by the humane spirit of General Washington."

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REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH BARNETT OF 1726.

Prepared expressly for this work, at the solicitation of the Publisher by

J——— B——— Esq., of Dayton, Ohio.

Joseph Barnett, the subject of the following remarks, and one of the heroes of Revolutionary times, was born in the year 1726 in Ireland, that birth place of many a true patriotic heart. His ancestors were from a place in England called Barnett; the grandfather of Josepth Barnett entered the army of Cromwell, and on the 15th of August 1649 reached Dublin, Ireland, was at the siege of Drogheda, and in all the different engagements of the time. The father of Joseph removed to America in 1734 from Ireland (his son being then eight years old) and purchased a farm in that part of Pennsylvania,—then Lancaster, but now Dauphin county, and erected a comfortable, and not inelegant residence.

At an early age, Joseph married an intelligent and amiable wife, in whose society years passed happily away: a numerous family of lovely children increased their cares, and their joys. But how uncertain and fluctuating is all earthly happiness. How soon can it be wrested from our possession; leaving only the remembrance. None feel this truth, like those, who realize it, and fearfully did the Barnetts drink the bitter cup of adversity to the very dregs. Truly the times in which they lived, "tried men's souls"—the discordant voice of bloody war, sounding over hill and valley, brought the horrible feelings of insecurity and disquietude to every habitation. The wily Indian with tomahawk and scalping knife, made frequent

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depredations on the surrounding settlements. The report of murdered households, and suffering captives —of plundered property and consumed dwellings, disturbed the tranquillity of many a peaceful home. The Barnetts and their immediate neighbors, erected a block house for the safety of their wives and children, while they cultivated their farms in groups, one or two standing as sentinels.

About the year 1760 there was at work on the farm of Mr. Barnett a small group, one of which was an estimable man of the name of Mackey. News came with flying speed, that their wives and children were all murdered at the block house by the Indians. Preparation was made immediately to repair to the scene of horror. While Mr. Barnett with all possible haste was getting ready his horse, he requested Mackey to examine his rifle to see that it was in order—every thing right, they all mounted their horses, rifle in hand, and galloped off, taking a near way to the block house. A party of Indians lying in ambush, rose and fired at Mr. Barnett, who was foremost, and broke his right arm;—his rifle dropped;—an Indian snatched it up and shot Mr. Mackey through the head, he fell dead at their feet, and they secured his scalp. At this time one of the Indians seeing that Mr. Barnett did not fall fired a gun at him loaded with buck-shot which entered his side and thigh in ten places. Mr. Barnett's father, who was in the rear of his company, turned back, but was pursued by the Indians and narrowly escaped with his life. In the meantime, Mr. Barnett, riding a noble and high spirited horse, which the Indians wished to possess, was carried swiftly out

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of the enemy's reach, but becoming weak and faint through loss of blood, he fell to the ground, and lay for a considerable time unable to rise; at length by a great effort, he crept to a buckwheat field where he concealed himself until the Indians had retired from the neighborhood. During the time he lay in the buckwheat field, he took the small fibres from the stalks and corked up the different wounds he had received, in order to prevent his bleeding to death; and then, raising a signal, he was soon perceived by the owner of the field, who after hesitating for some time for fear of the Indians, came to his relief. Surgical aid, the day following, was procured, and his broken arm and wounds in his side and thigh bound up. But the anxiety of his mind, respecting his family, was a heavy burden which agonized his soul; and not until the next day, did he hear that they were safe, with the exception of his oldest son, William, then 8 or 9 years of age, whom the Indians had taken prisoner, together with a son of Mackey, about the same age. The savages, on learning that one of their captives was a son of Mackey, whom they had just killed, compelled him to stretch his father's scalp: and this heart-rending, soul-sickening office he was obliged to perform in sight of the mangled body of his father. The Indians escaped westward with the two boys, and for a time, Mackey's son carried his father's scalp, which he would often stroke with his little hand, and say, "my father's pretty hair." Mr. Barnett lay languishing on a sick-bed,—his recovery was doubtful for a length of time; but having a strong constitution, he at last, through the blessing of God, recovered, losing

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about four inches of bone between the hand and elbow of his right arm. But who can tell the intense feeling of bitterness, which filled the mind and absorbed the thoughts of him and his tender sensitive companion. Their beloved child traversing the wilderness, a prisoner with a savage people; exposed to cold and hunger, and subject to their wanton cruelty. Who can tell of their sleepless nights—their anxious days, prolonged through weary months and slow revolving years—their fervent prayers their bitter tears and enfeebled health.

The prospect of a treaty with the Indians, and the return of the prisoners, at length brought a gleam of joy to the stricken hearts of these parents: accordingly Mr. Barnett left his family behind, and set off with Colonel Croghan and a body of five hundred regulars, who were destined to Fort Pitt, for that purpose. Their baggage and provisions, were conveyed on pack horses, and they made their way over the mountains with the greatest difficulty. When arrived at their place of destination, Colonel Croghan made strict inquiry concerning the fate of the little captives: after much fruitless search, he was informed that a squaw, who had lost a son, had adopted the son of Mr. Barnett, and was very unwilling to part with him, and he believing his father had been killed by the Indians, had become reconciled to his fate, and was much attached to his Indian mother. Mr. Barnett remained with the troops for a length of time, without obtaining, or even seeing his son. Fears began to be entertained at Fort Pitt, of starvation, surrounded by multitudes of savages there, seemed little prospect of

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relief; and to add to their despondency, a scouting party returned, with the distressing news, that the expected provisions which were on the way to their relief, were taken by the Indians. They almost despaired. Five hundred men, in a picket fort, on the wild bank of the Alleghany river, and without provisions, was a picture, too fearful to be looked upon without alarm, even by the stoutest hearts. The thought was dreadful. They became reduced to one milk cow each day, for five days, which was killed and divided among the five hundred. The three following days, they had nothing. To their great joy, on the evening of the third day, provisions arrived. Every sunken, pale, despairing countenance gathered brightness; but owing to its imprudent use, which the officers could not prevent, many died.

While the treaty was pending, many were killed by the Indians, who were continually prowling around the fort. One day Mr. Barnett wished a drink of water from Grants spring, situated within the boundaries of the present city of Pittsburg (known to most of the inhabitants.) He took his campkettle and proceeded a few steps, when he suddenly thought the adventure might cost him his life, and turned back; immediately he heard the report of a rifle, and looking towards the spring, saw the smoke of the same. The unerring aim of an Indian, had deprived a soldier of his life. They bore away his scalp, and his body was deposited on the bank of the Alleghany. The treaty was concluded and ratified by the parties. Nevertheless, great caution was necessary on the part of the whites, knowing the treachery of many of their foes. Mr.

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Barnett was most unhappy, his hopes concerning his child had not been realized and he had been absent from his family already too long.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, a guard with the pack horses, started to recross the mountains. Mr. Barnett gladly embraced this opportunity of a safe return, after having laid strict injunctions upon Colonel Croghan, to ransom, if possible, his son, he bade him and his associates in hardship, farewell; and after a toilsome journey reached home to embrace once more his family, who were joyful at his return. But the vacancy occasioned by the absence of one of its members, still remained. He told them that William was alive—soothed their grief—wiped away the tears from the cheeks of his wife, and expressed his prayerful hope, that through the interposition of a kind Providence, he would eventually be restored to them. Faithful to his promise, Colonel Croghan used every endeavor to obtain him; at length, through the instrumentality of an Indian trader of the name of McKee, he was successful. He was brought to Fort Pitt, and for want of an opportunity to send him to his father, was retained under strict guard, so great was his inclination to return to savage life; on one occasion he sprang down the bank of the Alleghany river, jumped into a canoe, and was midway in the stream before he was observed; he was quickly pursued but reached the opposite shore, raised the Indian whoop and hid among the bushes. After a search of several hours, he was retaken and brought back to the fort. Soon after, an opportunity offering, he was sent to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His father

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having business at that place, arrived after dark on the same day, and without knowing, took lodging at the same public house, where his son was, and had been some time in bed. As soon as he was aware of the fact, he asked eagerly to see him. The landlord entreated him to let the boy rest until morning, as he was much wearied by traveling; to this the father could not assent, replying, "if a son of yours had been torn from his home by savage cruelty, and you had lived for four long years in painful uncertainty in relation to his destiny, could you rest under the same roof without seeing him?" The hardy host felt the appeal, and led the way to the chamber. All present followed to witness the meeting. The sleeping boy was awaked, and told that his father stood by his bed: he replied in broken English, "No my father." At this moment, his father spoke, saying, "William, my son, look at me, I am your father." On hearing his voice, and seeing him, he sprang from his bed clasped, him in his arms, and shouted, "My father! my father is alive." All the spectators shed tears, the father wept like a child, while from his lips flowed thankful expressions of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events, that his long lost child was again restored.

Early the next day the father and son were on the road homeward, where they arrived on the secand day in the dusk of the evening. The rattling of the wheels announced their approach:—the mother and all the children came forth. She, whose frequent prayers had heretofore been addressed to the throne of Divine grace for the safety and return of her long lost son,

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trembled and was ready to sink under an overwhelming sense of God's goodness, in answering her prayers, as she beheld him led by his father and presented to her, the partner of his sorrows. She caught him to her bosom and held him long in her embrace, while the tears of joy flowed freely, dissolving away the painful burden, that so long had weighed down their spirits. His brothers and sisters clustered eagerly around and welcomed him home with the kiss of affection; it was a scene of deep feeling, not to be described, and that can only be appreciated by those, who have been in similar circumstances.

The happy family once more united beneath the parental roof, knelt in sweet communion and heart felt gratitude around the family altar, and united in thanksgiving to Almighty God, for all his mercies to them, in protecting, and restoring to their arms, a beloved and long lost child. The childrens crutinized him with curiosity and amazement. For as ye the was dressed in his Indian costume, composed of a breech-cloth round the waist, with moccasins and leggins; his hair being about three inches long, and standing erect, he presented a strange appearance. By degrees he laid aside the dress of the wilderness, which he greatly preferred — forgot the Indian language and became reconciled to his native home. But the rude treatment which he had received from the Indians impaired his constitution. They frequently broke holes in the ice, on rivers and creeks and dipped him, in order to make him hardy, which his feeble system could not endure without injury.

Respecting the son of Mackey, he was given by the

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Indians to the French, and passed into the hands of the English, and was taken to Quebec, and from there to England, where he became a soldier in the British army and returned to the United states, at the time of the Revolutionary war. He was captured at the battle of Trenton by the Americans and taken a prisoner to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He still recollected the name of Swatara, a small river in the vicinity of the place, from which he had been captured. He procured a furlough from his officers and sought out his widowed mother, who was still living, and who had long mourned him as dead. She could not recognize him after the lapse of so many years. He stood before her a robust fine looking man, in whom she could see no trace of her lost boy. He called her "mother," and told her, he was her son, which she did not believe—"If you are my son," said she, "you have a mark upon your knee, that I will know." His knee was exposed to view, and she instantly exclaimed, "My son indeed." Half frantic with joy, she threw her arms around his neck, and was clasped in those of her son, "Ah! my son," said she, "I thought you were dead but God has preserved you, and given me this happiness. Thanks! thanks to his good name! Through long years I have mourned that sorrowful day which bereft me of my husband and child—I have wept in secret, till grief has nearly consumed me, till my heart grew sick, and my poor brain almost crazed by the remembrance. I have become old more through sorrows, than years, but I have endeavored to 'kiss the rod' which chastised me. My afflictions have not been sent in vain—they have had

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their subduing and purifying effect, and have been sanctified to me. Heaven became more attractive, as earth became dark and desolate—but now I feel that I shall yet see earthly happiness. Nothing in this world my son, shall separate us but death." He never returned to the British army, but remained with his mother and contributed to her support, and comforted her in her declining years.

There was another interesting meeting, namely; with the son of Mr. Barnett. They recapitulated the scenes of hardship which they passed, while together with the Indians, which were indelibly impressed on the memory of both. They presented a great contrast in appearance; Barnett a pale, delicate man, and Mackey the reverse; the former sunk into an early grave, leaving a wife and daughter who was married to a gentleman named Frank, and now resides in the city of New York.

Mr. Barnett after experiencing great sorrow in the death of his wife, came to Alleghany county, Pennsylvania, and spent the last twelve years of his life with his daughter, Mrs. McClure, who was a widow. He died November, 1808, trusting firmly in the merits of the Redeemer. His eventful and chequered life was a life of faith,—always praying for a sanctified use of his trials, which were many. He sunk to the grave, aged eighty-two years. His dust reposes in Mifflin township, Alleghany county, in the church yard of Lebanon.

Here this narrative might close, but from the fact that an impression has gone abroad that William Barnett, the captive, was the father of John Barnett

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a Wyandot chief, who died in the army of General Harrison, then stationed in Ohio. From a careful perusal of the narrative it will be seen, that William Barnett when captured was only eight or nine years of age, and returned four years afterwards. From these facts, the reader will perceive, that William could not have been the father of the chief of the name of Barnett, although he may have been amongst the Wyandots.

In the summer of 1846, Moses Barnett a brother of William's, then residing in Erie county, Pennsylvania, stated to the writer of this article, that the father of John Barnett, the Wyandot chief, was a cousin of his, who had resided in Jefferson county, Pennsylvania, by the name of Andrew Barnett.

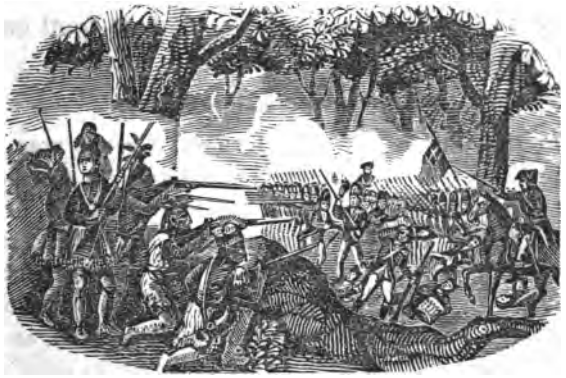
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

The encroachments of the French, and the erection by them of a chain of forts on the back settlements of the colonies, occasioned the British ministry to take measures to possess themselves of these forts, and drive the French from the country.

In the spring of 1775, General Braddock arrived in Virginia with two regiments, and was soon joined by Colonel Washington, (afterwards General Washington,) with a body of colonial troops; the whole force, two thousand men, took up their march for the French fort on the Ohio. General Braddock, on the 9th of July, with twelve hundred of his troops, was within seven miles of Du Quesne, a French fortress, which stood where Pittsburg is now built. Here Colonel Washington, who understood the Indian mode of war-

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fare better than his general, requested him to reconnoitre with his Virginia riflemen. But Gen. Braddock, who held the American officers in contempt, rejected Washington's counsel, and swelling with rage, replied with an oath, "*High times! high times! when a young buckskin can teach a British General how too fight!*" The troops advanced in heavy columns, and passing a narrow defile they fell into an ambush of French and Indians, who opened a deadly fire upon the English and American troops, who were obliged to fire at random, as they could not see their foe.



Braddock's Defeat.

The slaughter at this crisis was dreadful; particularly among the officers; and Washington was the only one on horseback, who was not either killed or wounded.* He had two horses shot under him, and

* A noted Indian warrior, who acted a leading part in this bloody action, was often heard to swear, that "Washington was never born to be killed by a bullet! For," continued he, "I had seventeen fair fires at him with my rifle, and after all could not bring him to the ground."

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four bullets passed through his coat. Braddock, if defficient in other military virtues, was not destitute of courage. Amidst a shower of bullets he encouraged his men to stand their ground by his countenance and example. But valor and discipline in this mode of warfare were useless: the action lasted three hours, and seven hundred men were killed on the spot. Braddock, after having three horses killed under him, received a mortal wound; and his troops fled in extreme dismay and confusion. The Virginians, who were the last to leave the field, formed after the action by the prudent valor of Washington, covered the retreat of the regulars, and saved them from entire destruction.

BATTLE OF THE COWPENS.

In the autumn of 1780 General Greene was appointed to the command of the forces in Carolina. He was accompanied by Colonel Morgan, a brave and active officer, who commanded a body of riflemen.

On the entrance of Morgan into the district of Ninety-Six, Lord Cornwallis detached Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton to drive him from his station, and to "*push him to the utmost.*" Tarleton's forces consisted of about 1000 choice infantry, and 250 horse, with two field-pieces. To oppose this force, Morgan had but 500 militia, 300 regulars, and 75 horse, under the command of Colonel Washington. The two detachments, met on the 17th of January, 1781, at the Cowpens. The ground on which this memorable battle was fought, was an open pine barren. The militia were drawn up about 280 yards in front of the regu-

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lars, and the horse some small distance in the rear. Just after daybreak, the British came in sight; and halting within about a quarter of a mile of the militia. began to prepare for battle. The sun had just risen, as the enemy, with loud shouts, advanced to the charge. The militia, hardly waiting to give them a distant fire, broke, and fled for their horses, which were tied at some distance. Tarleton's cavalry pushed hard after them, and coming up just as they reached their horses, began to cut them down. On seeing this, Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, dashed on to their rescue. As if certain of victory, Tarleton's men were all scattered in the chase. Washington's men, on the contrary, advanced closely and compactly, and gave the British cavalry such a fatal charge, that they fled in the utmost precipitation. The British infantry now came up; and having crossed a little valley, just as they ascended the hill, they found themselves within twenty paces of the American regulars, under Col. Howard, who at this moment poured upon them a general and deadly fire. This threw them into confusion. The militia, seeing this change in the battle, recovered their spirits and began to form on the right of the regulars. Morgan, waving his sword, instantly rode up, exclaiming with a loud voice, "*Hurrah! my brave fellows! form! form! old Morgan was never beat in his life!—one fire more, my heroes, and the day is our own!*" With answering shouts, both regulars and militia then advanced upon the enemy; and following their fire with the bayonet instantly decided the conflict.

The British lost in this engagement upwards of 300 killed and wounded, and more than 500 prisoners.

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The loss of the Americans was but 12 killed and 68 wounded.

WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF THE ARMY.

The storm of the revolution having subsided, the definitive treaty was signed on the 30th of September, 1783, and the 3d of November was fixed on by congress, for disbanding the United States' army. On the day preceding, General Washington gave an affectionate farewell to the soldiers, who, during "the time that tried men's souls," had fought by his side. "Being now," he said in his address to the army, "to conclude these, my last public orders, to take my ultimate leave in a short time of the military character and to bid a final adieu to the armies I have so long had the honor to command, I can only again offer in your behalf, my recommendations to our grateful country, and my prayer to the God of armies. May ample justice be done you here, and may the choicest favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene will be closed for ever."

The officers of the army assembled at New York. Washington was there also, and at parting, thus addressed them:—"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Taking each by the hand, he bade them farewell. They then accompanied him to the shores of the Hudson, where he was received in a barge magnificently decorated, and manned with thirteen sea captains—and waving his hat, while the tears started from his eyes, he bade a silent adieu to the companions of his glory.

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POCAHONTAS AND CAPTAIN SMITH.

Up to the year 1607, every attempt to settle a colony in Virginia had failed; and at this time, would have failed also, but for the unexampled perseverance of one man. I need but pronounce the name of Captain John Smith. The colony with which he came did not arrive until the planting season was over; and in a short time they found themselves in a suffering condition, from want of suitable provisions. Smith, therefore, undertook to gain a supply by trafficking with the Indians back in the country, who, being acquainted with his situation, insulted him and his men wherever they came; offering him but a handful of corn, or a piece of bread, for a gun or a sword. "But seeing by trade and courtesy there was nothing to be had from the Indians, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessity inforced, though contrary to his commission." So he fired upon them, and drove them into the woods. He then marched to their village. There they found corn in abundance, which, after some manœuvring, he succeeded in trading for, and returned with a supply to Jamestown.

Smith, soon after, proceeded to discover the source of the Chikahamania. When he had passed up as far as it was navigable for his barge, he left it in a wide place, at a safe distance from the shore, and ordered his men not to go on shore on any condition. Taking two of his own men and two Indians, he proceeded to complete his discovery. As soon as he was gone, his men went on shore, one was killed, and the rest hardly escaped. Smith was now 20 miles into

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POCAHONTAS.—The Daughter of Powhatton.

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the wilderness. Opekankanough, with 300 warriors, having learned, from the men they had just taken, which way he was gone, followed after him, and came upon the two Englishmen belonging to his company, and killed them both while asleep, he being absent to shoot some fowls for provisions; they then continued their pursuit after him. He was not far from his canoe, and endeavored to retreat to it, but, being hard pressed, made a shield of one of his Indians, and in this manner, fought upon the retreat, until he had killed three, and wounded divers others. Being obliged to give all his attention to his pursuers, he accidentally fell into a creek, where the mud was so deep that he could not extricate himself. Even now, none dared to lay hands upon him; and those whom their own numbers forced nearest to him, were observed to tremble with fear. The Indian he had bound to his arm with his garters, doubtless saved him from being killed by their arrows, from which, owing to his Indian shield, he received but very little hurt, except a wound in his thigh, though his clothes were shot full of them.

When he could stand no longer in the mire, without perishing with cold, he threw away his arms, and suffered them to come and take him. After pulling him out of the mire, they took him to the place where his men had just been killed, where there was a fire. They now showed him kindness, rubbing his benumbed limbs, and warming him by the fire. He asked for their chief, and Opekankanough appeared, to whom he gave a small compass. This amused them exceedingly. "Much they marvelled at the

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playing of the fly and needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated, by that globe-like jewel, the roundness of the earth, and skies, the sphere of the sun, and moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world, continually—the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of the nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration!" Yet, notwithstanding he had such success in explaining to them his knowledge of geography and astronomy, (how much of it they understood we will not undertake to say,) within an hour after, they tied him to a tree, and a multitude of them seemed prepared to shoot him. But when their bows were bent, Opekankanough held up his compass, and and they all laid down their weapons.

The taking of Jamestown was now resolved upon, and they made great preparations for it. To this end, they endeavored to get Smith's assistance, by making large promises of land and women; but he told them it could not be done, and described to them the great difficulty of the undertaking in such a manner that they were greatly terrified. With the idea of procuring something curious, Smith prevailed upon some of them to go to Jamestown; which journey they performed in the most severe frosty and snowy weather. By this means, he gave the people there to understand what his situation was, and what was intended against them, by sending a leaf from his pocket-book, with a few words written upon it. He

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wrote, also, for a few articles to be sent, which were duly brought by the messengers. Nothing had caused such astonishment as their bringing the very articles Smith had promised to them. That he could talk to his friends, at so great a distance, was utterly incomprehensible to them.

Being obliged to give up the idea of destroying Jamestown they amused themselves by taking their captive from place to place, in great pomp and triumph, and showing him to the different nations of the dominions of Powhatan. They practiced conjurations upon him for three successive days; to ascertain, as they said, whether he intended them good or evil. This proves they viewed him as a kind of god. A bag of gunpowder having fallen into their hands, they preserved it with great care, thinking it to be a grain, intending, in the spring, to plant it, as they did corn. He was here again feasted, and none could eat until he had done.

Being now satisfied, having gone through all the manœuvres and pranks with they could think of, they proceeded to Powhatan. "Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster, till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries." He was seated before a fire, upon a seat like a bedstead, having on a robe of raccoon skins, 'and all the tails hanging by." On each side of him sat a young woman; and upon each side of the house two rows of men, and with as many women behind them. These last had their heads and shoulders painted red —some of whose heads were adorned with white

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down; and about their necks white beads. On Smith's being brought into the presence of Powhatan, all present joined in a great shout. "The queen of Apamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them." Then, having feasted him again, "after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan—then as many as could lay hands on him dragged him to them and thereon laid his head, and being ready, with their clubs, to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his, to save him from death."

Powhatan was unable to resist the extraordinary solicitations and sympathetic entreaties of his kind-hearted little daughter, and thus was saved the life Captain Smith.

The old sachem, having set the sentence af death aside, made up his mind to employ Smith as an artisan; to make, for himsef, robes, shoes, bows, arrows, and pots; and for Pocahontas, bells, beads, and copper trinkets. Powhatan's son, named Nantaquas, was very friendly to Smith, and rendered him many important services, as well after as during his captivity.

"Two days after, Powhatan, having disguised himself in the most fearful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there, upon a mat by the

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fire, to be left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more, as black as himself, came unto him, and told him, now they were friends; and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick [Capahosick], and forever esteem him his son, Nantuquond. So to Jamestown, with twelve guides, Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting, (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment,) every hour to be put to one death or another." Early the next morning, they came to the fort at Jamestown. Here he treated the guides with the greatest attention and kindness, and offered Rawhunt, in a jesting manner, and for the sake of a little sport, a huge millstone, and two semi-culverins, or nine pound cannons, to take to Powhatan, his master; thus fulfilling his engagement to send him a grindstone and two guns. This Rawhunt was a sachem under Powhatan, and one of his most faithful captains, and who, it seems, accompanied Smith in his return out of captivity.

"They found them somewhat too heavy, but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But, at last, we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys, and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children, such presents, as gave them in general full content."

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Powhatan was now completely in the English interest, and almost every other day sent his daughter, Pocahontas, with victuals, to Jamestown, of which they were greatly in need.

A house was built for Powhatan, about this time, by some Germans, who came over. These men, thinking that the English could not subsist in the country, wantonly betrayed all the secrets of their condition to Powhatan, which was again the source of much trouble. They even urged him to put all the English to death, agreeing to live with him, and assist him in the execution of the horrible project. Powhatan was pleased at the proposition, and thought by their assistance to effect what he had formerly hoped to do by engaging Smith in such an enterprise. Their first object was to kill Captain Smith.

In the first, place he invited him to come and trade for corn, hoping an opportunity, in that business would offer. That his design might not be mistrusted, Powhatan promised to load his ship with corn, if he would bring him a grindstone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, and a quantity of copper and beads. Smith went accordingly, but guarded, as though sure of meeting an enemy.

In their way, the English stopped at Warrasqueake, and were informed, by the sachem of that place, of Powhatan's intentions. That sachem kindly entertained them, and when they departed, furnished them with guides.

Having arrived at Werowocomoco, after much hardship, they sent to Powhatan for provisions, being in great want, not having taken but three or four

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days' supply along with them. The old chief sent them immediately a supply of bread, turkeys, and venison, and soon after made a feast for them, according to custom.

Meanwhile, Powhatan pretended he had not sent for the English; telling them he had no corn, "and his people much less," and, therefore, intimated that he wished they would go off again. But Smith produced the messenger that he had sent, and so confronted him; Powhatan then laughed heartily, and thus it passed for a joke. He then asked for their commodities, "but he liked nothing, except guns and swords, and valued a basket of corn higher than a basket of copper; saying, he could eat his corn, but not the copper." Captain Smith then made a speech to him, in which he endeavored to work upon his feelings and sense of honor; said he had sent his men to build him a house while his own was neglected; that, because of his promising to supply him with corn, he had neglected to supply himself with provisions when he might have done it.

When Smith had done, Powhatan answered him as follows:—"We have but little corn, but what we can spare shall be brought two days hence. As to your coming here, I have some doubt about the reason of it. I am told, by my men, that you came not to trade, but to invade my people, and to possess my country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my people from bringing in their corn. And, therefore, to relieve them of that fear, leave your arms aboard your boats, since they are needless here, where we are all friends, and forever Powhatans."

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In these, and other speeches of like amount, they spent the first day. "But, whilst they expected the coming in of the country, they wrangled Powhatan out of eighty bushels of corn, for a copper kettle."

Powhatan made another speech, in which were some singular passages, as reported by Smith. One was, that he had seen the death of all his people three times; and that none of those three generations was then living, except himself. This was evidently to make the English think him something more than human. The old chief then went on and said:—"I am now grown old, and must soon die; and the succession must descend, in order, to my brothers, Opitchapan, Opekankanough, and Catataugh, and then to my two sisters, and their two daughters. I wish their experience was equal to mine; and that your love to us might not be less than ours to you. Why should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Why should you destroy us, who have provided you with food? What can you get by war? We can hide our provisions, and fly into the woods; and then you must consequently famish by wronging your friends. What is the cause of your jealousy? You see us unarmed, and willing to supply your wants, if you will come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as to invade an enemy. I am not so simple as not to know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with my women and children; to laugh and be merry with the English; and being their friend, to have copper, hatchets, and whatever else I want, than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash,

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and to be so hunted, that I cannot rest, eat, or sleep. In such circumstances, my men must watch, and if a twig should but break, all would cry out, 'Here comes Captain Smith;' and so, in this miserable manner, to end my miserable life; and Captain Smith, this might be soon your fate too, through your rashness and unadvisedness. I, therefore, exhort you to peaceable councils, and, above all, I insist that the guns and swords, the cause of all our jealousy and uneasiness, be removed and sent away."

Smith interpreted this speech to mean directly contrary to what it expressed, and it rather confirmed, than lessened, his former suspicions. He, however, made a speech to Powhatan, in his turn, in which he endeavored to convince him that the English intended him no hurt. Seeing Smith's inflexibility, and despairing of accomplishing his intended massacre, he spoke again to Smith as follows:—

"Captain Smith, I never use any werowance so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away his guns when requested. No one refuses to lie at my feet, or do what I demand, but you only. Of you I can have nothing, but what you value not; and yet, you will have whatsoever you please. Captain Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do what you will, and we must both study to humor and content you. But if you intend so friendly, as you say, send away your arms; for you see my undesigning simplicity and friendship cause me thus nakedly to forget myself."

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At length, finding all artifices vain, Powhatan resolved to fall upon the English, in their cabins, on the following night. But here, again, Pocahontas saved the life of Smith and his attendants. She came alone, in a dismal night, through the woods, and informed Smith of her father's design. For this most signal favor, he offered her such articles as he thought would please her; but she would accept of nothing, and with tears standing in her eyes, said if her father should see her with any thing, he would mistrust what she had done, and instant death would be her reward; and she retired by herself into the woods, as she came.

Powhatan was so exasperated at the failure of his plots, that he threatened death to his men if they did not kill Smith by some means or other. Not long after, a circumstance occurred, which gave him security the rest of his administration. One of Powhatan's men, having, by some means, got a quantity of powder, pretended that he could manage it like the English. Several came about him, to witness his exploits with the strange commodity, when, by some means. it took fire, "and blew him, with one or two more to death." This struck such a dread into the Indians, and so amazed and frightened Powhatan, that his people came from all directions, and desired peace; many of whom returned stolen articles that the English had never before missed. Powhatan would now send to Jamestown such of his men as had injured the English, that they might be dealt with as they deserved. The same year, 1609, he sent them nearly half his crop of corn, knowing them to be in great want.

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Captain Smith having, by accident, been shockingly burned by his powder bags taking fire, for want of surgical aid, was obliged to leave the country and go to England, from whence he never returned. He published the account of the first voyages to Virginia, and his own adventures, which is almost the only authority for the early history of that country. He died in London, in 1631, in the 52d year of his age.

The Dutchmen of whom we have spoken, and who had been so assiduous to bring ruin upon the colony, came to a miserable end. One of them died in wretchedness, and two others had their brains beat out by order of Powhatan, for their deception.

After Smith had left Virginia, the Indians were made to believe that he was dead. Powhatan doubted the report, and some time after, ordered one of his counsellors, named Uttamatomakin, or Tomocomo, whom he sent to England, to find out, if possible, where he was. He instructed him, also, to note the number of the people, to learn the state of the country, and if he found Smith, to make him show him the God of the English, and the king and queen. When he arrived at Plimouth, he took a long stick, and began part of his mission by cutting a notch for every person he saw. But he soon gave up that business. And when he returned to his own country, his chief asked him, among other things, to give him an account of the number of the inhabitants of England. His answer to that inquiry, we hazard not much in saying, is nearly as extensively known as the golden rule of Confucius. It was as follows: "Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand

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upon the sea shore—for such is the number of the people of England."

Tomocomo had married a sister of Pocahontas, and, probably, accompanied her to England. While there, the famous antiquary, Samuel Purchase, had an interview with him, and from whom he collected many facts relating to the manners and customs of his countrymen; the result of which he afterwards published in his Pilgrims.

The difficulties were almost perpetual between Powhatan and the English; very little time passed, while he lived, but what was full of broils and dissatisfaction, on the one part or the other. Few Indian chiefs have fallen under our notice, possessing such extraordinary characteristics as Powhatan. He died at peace with the English, in April, 1618, and was succeeded by Opitchapan, his second brother, who was known afterwards by the name Itopatin.

SPECIMEN OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCROFT.

CHANT TO THE FIRE-FLY.

In the hot summer evenings, the children of the Chippewa Algonquins, along the shores of the upper lakes, and in the northern latitudes, frequently assemble before their parents' lodges, and amuse themselves by little chants of various kinds, with shouts and wild dancing. Attracted by such shouts of merriment and gambols, I walked out one evening, to a green lawn skirting the edge of the St. Mary's river, with the fall full in view, to get hold of the meaning of some of these chants. The air and the plain were literally sparkling with the phosphorescent light of the fire-fly. By dint of attention, repeated on one or two occasions, the following succession of words was caught. They were addressed to this insect:

Wau wau tay see
Wau wau tay see

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E mow e shin
Tshe bwau ne baun-e wee!
Be eghaun—be eghaun—bwwee!
Wa Wau tay see!
Wa wau tay see!
Was sa koon ain je gun
Was sa koon ain je gun.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Flitting-white-fire-insect! waving-white-fire-bug! give me light before I go to bed! give me light before I go to sleep. Come, little dancing white-fire-bug! Come little flitting-white-fire-beast! light me with your bright white-flame-instrument—your little candle.*

Metre there was none, at least of a regular character: they were the wild improvisations of children in a merry mood.

Ningee minno neebau-nabun,	I have slept well.
Ningee minno weesin,	I have eaten a good meal.
Ke miuno iau nuh?	Are you well?
Auneende ain deyun?	What ails you?
Kwanaudj Kweeweezains.	A pretty boy.
Ke daukoozzinuh?	Are you sick?

Positive.	Negative.
Neebwaukah	Kahween neebwaukah-see,
He is wise.	He is not wise.
Kwonaudjewe,	Kahween kwonaudjewe-see,
She is handsome,	She is not handsome.
Oskineegee,	Kahween oskineegee-see,
He is young.	He is not young.
Shaugweewee,	Kahween Shaugweewee-see,
He is feeble.	He is not feeble.
Geekkau,	Kahween Geekkau-see,
He is old.	He is not old.
Mushkowizzi,	Kahween Mushkowizzi-see,
He is strong.	He is not strong.

[*Fire-fly, fire fly! bright little thing,
Light me to bed, and my song I will sing.
Give me your light, as you fly o'er my head,
That I may merrily go to my bed.
Give me your light o'er the grass as you creep,
That I may joyfully go to my sleep.
Come little fire fly—come little beast—
Come! and I'll make you to-morrow a feast.
Come little candle that flies as I sing,
Bright fairy bug—night's little king;
Come, and I'll dance as you guide me along,
Come, and I'll pay you, my bug, with a song.]

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I am happy.	Ne minwaindum.
I am unhappy.	Kahween ne minwuinduz-see.
His manner of life is bad.	Mudjee izzhewabizzi.
His manner of life is not bad.	{Kahween mudjee a izzhewabizzi-see.
It is large.	Mitshau muggud.
It is not large.	Kahween mitshau-seenon.
Onishishewe mishemin,	Good apple.
Kwonaudjewe eeka,	Handsome woman.
Songedaa inine,	Brave man.
Bishegaindaugoozzi peenasee,	Beautiful bird.
Ozahwizzi ahmo,	Yellow bee.

The numerals of the language are converted into adverbs, by the inflection ING, making ONE, ONCE, &c. The unit exists in duplicate.

Pazhik, One, general unit} Ingoot, One, numerical unit}	Aubeding, Once.
Neesh, Two.	Neeshing, Twice.
Niswee, Three.	Nissing, Thrice.
Neewin, Four.	Neewing, Four-times.
Naunun, Five.	Nauning, Five-times.
N'goodwaswa, Six.	N'goodwautshing, Six-times.
Neeshwauswa, Seven.	Neeshwautshing, Seven-times.
Shwauswe, Eight.	Shwautshing, Eight-times.
Shongusswe, Nine.	Shongutshing, Nine-times.
Meetauswee, Ten.	Meetaushing, Ten-times.

These inflections can be carried as high as they can compute numbers. They count decimally. After reaching ten, they repeat, ten and one, ten and two, &c. to twenty. Twenty is a compound signifying two tens, thirty, three tens, &c., a mode which is carried up to one hundred N'GOODWAK. Wak then becomes the word of denomination combining with the names of the digits, until they reach a thousand, meetauswauk, literally, ten hundred. Here a new compound term is introduced made by prefixing twenty to the last denomination, neshtonnah duswak, which doubles the last term, thirty triples it, forty quadruples it, &c., till the computation reaches to ten thousand, n'goodwak dushing n'goodwak, one hundred times one hundred. This is the probable extent of all certain computation. The term Gitshee, (great,) prefixed to the last denomination, leaves the number indefinite.

There is no form of the numerals corresponding to second, third, fourth, &c. They can only further say, NITTUM first, and ISHWAUDJ, last.

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